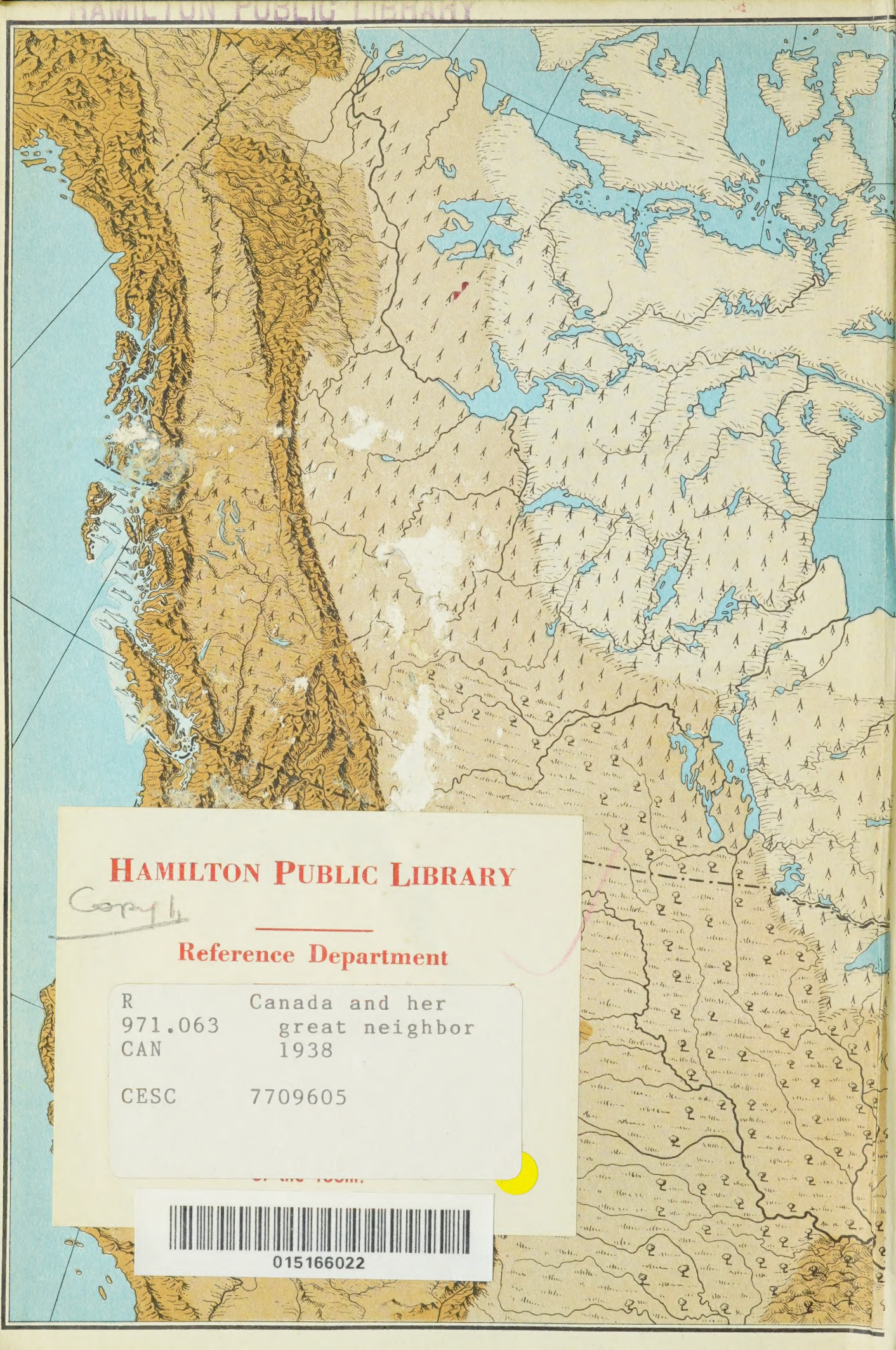
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CANADA AND HER GREAT NEIGHBOR

THE RELATIONS OF CANADA AND THE UNITED STATES

A SERIES OF STUDIES
PREPARED UNDER THE DIRECTION OF THE
CARNEGIE ENDOWMENT FOR INTERNATIONAL PEACE
DIVISION OF ECONOMICS AND HISTORY

JAMES T. SHOTWELL, *Director.*

CANADA AND HER GREAT NEIGHBOR

SOCIOLOGICAL SURVEYS
OF
OPINIONS AND ATTITUDES IN CANADA
CONCERNING
THE UNITED STATES

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FOREWORD

It is rather more than two years since the material in this book was first prepared for publication. Much that is significant for its purposes has taken place during this interval. In the great world the League of Nations has failed to preserve the territorial integrity of Abyssinia, and has shown itself impotent to deal with warfare in Spain and in the Far East. Within the British Empire a king has died, a king has abdicated and a king has been crowned. Within the United States, Mr. Roosevelt has been elected for a second term in which he has encountered severe political opposition within his own party. In Canada a Liberal government is in power and the attempt of its predecessor to enlarge the legislative power of the federal government has been defeated by the courts. As between the United States and Canada a trade agreement has come into operation. In other matters, too, there has been change. I am told that the American motion pictures no longer justify (if indeed they ever did) much of the criticism which has been recorded in these pages. While it has been possible here and there to correct statements which are no longer true and to mention events which have occurred in the interval, it is inevitable that, at the moment of publication, the book should be less up to date than had been hoped.

It is a matter of opinion—or of guess-work—whether or not any of these developments, or all of them together, mark a turning point in Canadian opinion, and the beginning of some new trend. Personally I do not think that there is sufficient evidence for believing that they do. But it is beyond question that this book was written at a time when feeling towards the United States was less cordial than it is today. I am inclined to think that it has passed from a phase of slight uncordiality to one of abnormal cordiality and that, as in economic matters, we must expect cyclical movements rather than smooth progression.

Something must be said of the changes which have been made in the book itself during the last two years. These have not been extensive but some of the more extreme and irresponsible criticisms of the United States have been omitted altogether and some other

criticisms have been softened by editorial comment. The book has thus, with the skilful assistance of the editor-in-chief of the series, been subjected to a sort of sandpapering process designed to remove asperities while leaving the general outline intact.

If one may compare the book to a meal offered to a guest, it has benefited greatly by this benign revision. There would be no point in initiating a diner into the mysteries of the kitchen but for the fact that he may be legitimately anxious that his diet should be reliable as well as palatable. I think that I may speak for my colleagues as well as for myself in saying that we attempted to depart as little as possible from the standards of objectivity and sought to present the material that came into our hands without indicating whether we shared or detested the opinions which we were recording. We felt that we must not shrink from wounding a great mass of Canadian opinion which we thought might be surprised and horrified by the sight of Canada in the psychoanalyst's chair. But it hardly occurred to us that American readers might be irritated rather than amused by a picture of the United States which they would regard as distorted by ignorance, by misplaced emphasis, or even by reckless falsification. Anyone who has read the book will notice that no Canadian witness has alleged and that no Canadian investigator has suggested that either supersensitiveness or quick temper is an American characteristic. On this point, however, we must be quick to submit to the superior judgment of our editor-in-chief. The changes, such as they are, have been gladly effected, for while soothing comments, however sincerely made, do constitute a departure from a severe canon of objectivity just as much as provocative comments would, it is a departure that is well justified if it can help to prevent a book in a series designed to promote the cause of international goodwill from itself being a source of irritation.

It has not been possible to show corresponding consideration for Canadian susceptibilities as phase after phase of Canadian national life has been placed under the microscope. I wish, therefore, to take this opportunity of saying that when the picture is looked at as a whole, and proper allowance made for those elements of human psychology which are not entirely rational, I do not consider that Canadians (unless they are so ambitious as to set themselves

standards of critical acumen and of charity higher than those by which any other nation would care to be judged) have reason to feel ashamed of their opinions about the United States or of their attitudes towards that country.

A learned judge has said that a man's state of mind is as much a fact as the state of his digestion. This half-truth has its value. People do have beliefs and attitudes that are real and not imaginary. These beliefs and attitudes cannot be calculated, for ordinary people do not believe what intelligent beings would believe and disbelieve what intelligent beings would disbelieve. Nor are the *attitudes* of ordinary people the same as those of good and clever people. The half-truth has its dangers, too. As another learned judge has said: "The devil himself knoweth not the thought of man." We can never know for certain what a man's opinions are, and even a man who tries hard to be frank and honest may not succeed in giving a true picture of his state of mind. His state of mind may be a fact but precise knowledge of it is impossible, for a man's behavior is not an infallible guide to his thoughts. It may well appear to be a hopeless task to investigate the opinions which Canadians hold about the United States and their attitudes towards the American people.

We may, it is true, console ourselves with still another half-truth: deliberate hypocrisy is a vice of individuals and the behavior of a group is a tolerably safe indication of the dominant attitudes of its members. But other difficulties confront us. Opinions and attitudes are constantly changing and what is true to-day may not have been true yesterday. Thus the behavior of a group in the past may not be a reliable indication of what it thinks to-day. Nor is a nation, as an object of opinions and attitudes, a static phenomenon. The United States of the Nineties was very different from the United States of to-day. Yet, even to say that new observers are incessantly forming new pictures of a new object would over-simplify our study. Observation is qualified by memories of the past and by the interpretation which the past has received at the hands of historians.

It is possible that the study of opinion would best be left to the historians. But, while no historian can afford to neglect all study of opinion, it is not easy for any historian to single out opinion for

separate treatment, nor to deal with opinion on the large scale which is essential if its formation is to be adequately explained. In endeavoring to find out what opinions are held to-day, and what attitudes are prevalent, we shall frequently have to look into the past. But we shall do so only in so far as seems necessary in order to explain how these opinions came to be held and these attitudes to prevail, and to determine whether the dominant tendency is for them to be strengthened or weakened by the lapse of time.

The title of this book must not be allowed to lead the reader to prejudge the question whether there is, or has ever been, or will ever be, a set of opinions and attitudes concerning the United States which is common to the whole of Canada. The greatest care has been taken to avoid any hasty conclusions on this point and to present the evidence fairly. Separate studies have been made in each of the main geographical regions of Canada, and in each case it has been left to the investigator to decide whether opinion within his region was homogeneous or was divided sharply on lines of race or class. Of French-speaking Canada a completely independent study has been made which will be published separately, but in a survey of the opinions and attitudes of English-speaking Canada, French-speaking Canadians can never be far from our thoughts, for the whole question of Canadian nationality depends on the existence in Canada of two racial and linguistic sections presenting a sharp contrast in religious and cultural outlook. Fortunately, Dr. Edouard Montpetit, the editor of the study of French Canada, has generously undertaken to write a section for the present book.

This friendly coöperation is particularly welcome in a book which is the outcome of wide collaboration. The original plan and assignment of investigations and the arrangements for collecting material were almost entirely the work of Professor Robert MacIver, of Columbia University. In his introduction he has explained how the various tasks were allotted. In addition, material has been collected by Professor W. G. Black, of the University of British Columbia, by Mr. Donald Davidson and by Mr. Mark McClung. Throughout the book it has been indicated which investigator is in the main responsible for each chapter or section.

It remains for the editor to assume his own responsibilities, which are large. In addition to working on regional studies under the

original arrangements made by Professor MacIver, the editor took over the material in process of preparation before the form in which it was to be presented to the public had been decided. The editor was generously allowed a free hand, and he must bear full responsibility for making the book what it is: an attempt to lay before the general public the tentative conclusions which have been reached in an investigation of opinions and attitudes in Canada concerning the United States and Canadian-American relations, together with a general account of the evidence on which these conclusions have been based. It is left to the enterprise of future students of sociology to essay the transformation of this material into a scientific analysis of the formation and expression of opinion and of popular attitudes. At the hands of Professor MacIver this book itself might have taken that maturer form. But its compilation was abandoned to a less experienced editor, who felt that the materials entrusted to him were too valuable for him to use as the *corpus vile* of a novel experiment, and who, through cowardice or at least well-justified modesty, has limited himself to letting the evidence speak for itself with such commentary as could be added without danger to the independence of the witnesses. Within these limits comments have been freely—perhaps too freely—made; and while the editor has attempted to observe a critical and scientific spirit in the selection of evidence, in its arrangement, and in commenting on it, he has made no concealment of his personal view that British Loyalty, Canadian Nationalism, or North Americanism would be a misfortune if it were to impede the unity of the world in an organization which will not tolerate absolute national sovereignties and, in the long run, will destroy the exaggeration of the conflict of interest between nation and nation which has brought them into being. It seems a matter of scientific honesty to declare this possible bias, however hopeful one may be that it has not been allowed to exercise undue influence on his interpretations.

Throughout the book American rather than Canadian spelling has been used. No attempt has been made to preserve the original spelling in quotations from books and periodicals. In such a matter scrupulous accuracy could have been attained only at the cost of efforts which the results would not justify, for, in a study of opinion

and not of orthography, it seemed pedantic to distinguish with meticulous care the publications which prefer *favour* to favor, *programme* to *program*, or *centre* to *center*.

In conclusion the editor wishes to record his gratitude to the general editor of the Series, Professor James T. Shotwell, for advice and encouragement throughout the progress of the work, to express his thanks to the Board of Governors of the University of British Columbia for facilitating his work by allowing him leave of absence for six weeks, and to acknowledge his great obligation to Professor H. A. Innis, who has assumed the burden of seeing the volume through the press.

H. F. A.

SURVEY OF THE PROJECT

The other volumes of the Canadian-American series deal with the various activities of exchange and intercourse between the two countries. This volume is not concerned with any of these activities. Even if we could present the whole web of relationships woven and rewoven between Canada and the United States we would still not have before us the full significance of the historical bond between them. There is a place for a study of another kind, one that goes behind relations to attitudes, one that seeks to show, not how a people acts toward its neighbor with respect to particular interests and needs or in the light of particular situations and events, but how it responds to the very presence and being of a neighboring people. But there is a place for such a study only under one happy and sufficiently rare condition. The two people concerned must be so closely allied and so fundamentally congenial that their very thoughts of one another can be exposed without detriment or hurt, without serious offence given or taken. In the world in which we live that condition is so rarely attained that this aspect of national psychology is, for the responsible student, untrodden and practically forbidden ground. Here, almost uniquely here, it can be entered upon. Not that we shall find in this work only or even mainly favorable responses on the part of one people towards the other—that would be too naïve an expectation—but that there is, beyond all other relations, a bridge of understanding between the two peoples built on foundations far deeper than the ground in which their differences arise. This volume is an implicit testimony to that fact on both sides, on that of the Canadians whose opinions and attitudes are here revealed, on that of the Americans towards whom these opinions and attitudes are directed.

The significance of this fact is so great that the reader should bear it constantly in mind as he studies this volume. Perhaps he may be aided in doing so if we offer at the outset some account of the nature of the investigation and a general view of the evidences resulting from it. Since the investigation had an element of the venturesome and even of the novel, there is some reason in any event for including such a preliminary statement in the record.

I. *The Plan of Investigation.* The sponsors of the Canadian-American series of studies recognized that no account of the relations between the two countries could be adequate which did not reveal the background of popular opinion and attitude. Only against this background can we get a perspective on the specific interactions of Canadian-American policy, economic and political; on the social and cultural interchange incessantly at work; on the quality of North Americanism common to the two people; on the prospects of the continuance and development of the bonds that unite the two countries. While in all the studies of the series, and especially the historical and political studies, some light is thrown on the way the people of each country regard their neighbors, yet this is only a reflected light, cast from the surface of particular occasions and salient events. It seemed worthwhile in addition to make a first-hand study of the manner in which the people of Canada think and feel and express themselves about the United States and its people.

No doubt it would have been more satisfactory if the other side of the picture had also been presented, if the investigation had included also the responses of Americans towards Canada and Canadians. But this would have increased the scale of the investigation far beyond the original provision. It seemed more fruitful to concentrate our efforts on the Canadian side of the picture rather than spread them too thinly over a much vaster area. Moreover, the opinions and attitudes of Canadians towards the United States are much more definitely presented and much more articulate than those of Americans towards Canada. The United States bulks much more largely in the consciousness of Canadians than Canada does in that of Americans, and while this fact appears in the present study in the criticism of some Canadians that Americans are ignorant and unregardful of Canada, this is an understandable result of the difference of situation. Canadians are naturally apprehensive of the "invasion of influences" emanating across the border. They represent the only direct link with a nation of Europe in the American continent. They are peculiarly subject to the powerful financial controls and economic forces engendered in the United States. For these and other reasons it seems inevitable that Canadians should concern themselves more with the United States, should

reveal more significant attitudes and more clear-cut opinions concerning it, than Americans do with respect to Canada.

Yet the reader ought to bear in mind the one-sidedness of the study. If, for example, it appears that Canadians generally claim for themselves a superiority of laws, of forms of government, of culture, or of the primary virtues, let him not imagine that counter-claims of superiority are not as readily forthcoming on the other side. In this international reckoning, between all countries, the pluses and minuses cancel one another. There is no international debt anywhere with respect to claims to superiority, though the manner of statement and the grounds alleged may differ. If our analysis suggests that in the instance of Canada these claims take a particular character explicable more by reference to the special circumstances of Canada's internal and international position than by any objective appraisal of differences, this conclusion might no less have emerged had we been dealing with American attitudes and opinions.

After the decision to limit the investigation to the Canadian side looking South, the next step was to draw up a program of research. There are many foci of opinions. There are numerous associations that both foster and express group opinion, some having this as their direct objective, others making it auxiliary to their main objective. In this direction it was important to study the schools, the great economic organizations, the patriotic and other nationally influential societies, the voice of Parliament in debate. Of the great associations only one, the church, has been left out of the picture, except for incidental reference. This was done not by accident, but because there were not sufficiently clear indications that the majority of churches took any prominent part or had any distinctive rôle in the ventilation and formation of opinion on the subject in question. Then, apart from associations, there are many organs of opinion and of propaganda, the press, periodical literature, books, the radio, and the moving picture. All of these had to be canvassed.

But the study of associations and of organs of communication could take us at most half-way to our goal. These agencies seek to form as well as to express opinion. They are in some measure propagandist, revealing opinion selectively and often with bias. We wanted above all to learn how Canadians feel and think about the

United States, not merely how they are indoctrinated, addressed, and appealed to. It was necessary to get directly to the man in the street, the man in the factory, the man on the farm. It was the more necessary because our aim was not only to record opinions but to discover the attitudes that lay behind them. Consequently, the plan included a number of first-hand studies of popular opinions and attitudes, undertaken by means of interviews and questionnaires and representative of as many areas, conditions, and groups as the time and resources at our disposal admitted. This sampling method, in view of the large and heterogeneous areas to be covered, was perforce applied very thinly. Occasionally, as in the account of Canadian reactions to American moving pictures (recorded in Chapter V), the present writer felt that the sampling was insufficiently representative, but generally the consistency of the results indicated that there was no great distortion of the picture because of inadequate material. One of the best indications is the study of high-school pupils made by Professor F. H. Soward (Chapter XVI). Although the selected schools were scattered from the far East to the far West of the continent, there was a very significant agreement in the responses given at the various centers.

The program once drawn up, the next step was the selection of qualified investigators. The reader who takes account of the survey of Canada presented in Chapter I will see that it was necessary to map out six distinctive areas for investigation, the Maritime Provinces, French-speaking Quebec, the English-speaking minority in Quebec, Ontario, the Prairie Provinces, and British Columbia. All of these, with the exception of the two divisions of Quebec, are natural areas clearly demarcated one from another. Obviously French Canada required separate investigation, for here is a region islanded by language, tradition, national origin, religion, and mode of education; distinct from all other large areas in Canada, if not in the whole American continent, by reason of the fact that it is a land exhibiting a large natural increase of population on the one hand and practically no recent immigration on the other.

A special investigator was sought for each of the six areas. It was essential to find investigators who were thoroughly familiar with their respective areas, who could be expected to approach the subject with an open mind, and who had the requisite training and

experience to deal with the difficult problems of research in public opinion. The final selection was as follows: for the Maritime Provinces, Professor H. L. Stewart, Professor of Philosophy at Dalhousie University, Halifax, Nova Scotia, editor of the *Dalhousie Review* and author of various books dealing with the history and the critique of modern thought; for French Quebec, Edouard Montpetit, Secretary-General of the Université de Montréal, one of the best-known and most distinguished representatives of French-Canadian culture and the author of several studies in that field; for English-speaking Quebec, Mr. S. Delbert Clark, formerly of the Department of Sociology at McGill University and now at the University of Manitoba, a careful student of present-day social and economic movements in Canada; for Ontario, Professor Alexander Brady, of the Department of Political Science and Economics, University of Toronto, author of a number of valuable studies in Canadian biography and history; for the Prairie Provinces, Mrs. R. F. McWilliams, author of revealing books on social life in the Canadian West, and Professor George M. Smith, Professor of History at the University of Alberta, Edmonton, a scholar possessing a wide experience of Canadian conditions; for British Columbia, Professor H. F. Angus, Head of the Department of Economics, Political Science, Sociology, and Commerce at the University of British Columbia, Vancouver, and a contributor of articles on Canadian questions to various periodicals. Professor Angus afterwards took over the general direction of the whole investigation.

In addition to the regional investigations, special researches were arranged to cover Dominion-wide aspects of the subject. Of these the chief were the study of the press and periodical literature undertaken by J. A. Stevenson, a leading newspaper correspondent and author, and the study of the attitudes of school children, directed by Professor F. H. Soward, of the University of British Columbia.

The various investigators were kept in touch with one another and conferences were arranged so far as practicable in view of the vastness of the terrain. The sampling of opinion by special categories, occupational, rural and urban, age group, and so forth, was allocated between the investigators. An understanding was reached regarding the function of the questionnaire and the manner in which interviews

were to be conducted so as to secure the most explicit and unhampered expression of opinion and so as to reveal the underlying attitudes to which they gave utterance.

II. *Review of the Evidence.* When the reports of these investigations came in, it was manifest that they all combined to give a reasonably adequate presentation of Canadian opinion. There were characteristic variations for different groups and areas, but the evidences were on the whole harmonious and inclusive. There could be little doubt that we had before us a fair and typical reflection of the prevailing modes in which Canada regards her great neighbor. The reader should remember in this connection that the chapters of the present volume can do no more than summarize the large mass of specific data contained in the first-hand researches.

From these evidences there emerged the lineaments of America apparent to Canadian eyes. Inevitably they were depicted in the colors of moral appraisal. Inevitably they expressed comparative judgments that erected Canadian standards above American ones. In what country would the result be otherwise? Inevitably they assumed a national unity of mores, in spite of all the divergences of type within the nation, that stood in contrast with the assumed national unity of mores beyond the least visible of all frontiers. But a more interesting result appears when we separate those opinions that emanated from special-interest organizations and agencies—whether they sought to defend Canadian tariffs, like the Canadian Manufacturers' Association, or to foster Canadian patriotism, like the Independent Order Daughters of the Empire—from those opinions that were evoked directly through discussion, interview, and questionnaire. The items on the debit side had a similar character throughout, the charges of "materialism," "boastfulness," "dollar-chasing," "lawlessness," "sensationalism," and so forth; but in the directly elicited opinions there was a significant credit side to the account. Americans were "friendly," "generous," "hospitable," "practical," "resourceful," "democratic," "progressive." There was as genuine a consensus in the choice of the favorable as in that of the unfavorable epithets. The seeming incompatibility in the attribution of antithetical qualities, such as "generous" and "grasping," did not imply any uncertainty of conviction, and must be explained in another way.

It is characteristic of the opinions held by one people concerning another that they are generally very definite and clear-cut, possessing a simplicity and forthrightness unrelated, unless perhaps inversely, to the opportunities for observation enjoyed by the holders of these opinions.

When we examine the epithets, whether favorable or unfavorable, characteristically applied to the American people, another significant point appears. To the Canadian observer Americans are not just other folk, to be rated by the same measure he would apply to his own; they are folk viewed from the standpoint of their particular relationship to his own. It is the angle of approach that accounts for the consensus of opinion. It is the angle of approach that accounts for the strong definition of opinion. This factor may well explain certain characteristics of the opinion of every nation concerning its neighbors. The peculiar ways of these neighbors are adjudged without consideration of the conditions to which they are responsive, and with almost exclusive reference to the conditions to which those who sit in judgment respond.

In the light of this conclusion we can interpret a statement that appears not infrequently in the evidence, to the effect that the speaker or writer likes Americans individually, but not collectively. When one meets in more intimate or continuous relations individual members of another people, one is more likely to see them as they are, as individuals, in their own setting, and to take them accordingly; while the nation as a whole is still viewed from the aforementioned angle of approach. An unusually analytic writer among those who replied to the questions addressed them by Mrs. McWilliams, put the point as follows: "I have built up an idea of Americans and Americanism which I don't like; yet when I meet them as individuals, I usually have found I like them." (Page 410.)

The conclusion we have suggested has particular relevance to the unfavorable epithets applied by one people to another. We are of course not raising the question whether one people owns a larger stock of particular virtues or of particular vices than another—such a question cannot be answered by examining popular opinion. We are considering why there is a consensus of opinion on the part of one people in applying certain attributes to its neighbor. In part this may be due to actual manifestations that some type of behavior

is more prevalent in the neighboring country. If, for example, there are more flagrant instances of lawlessness or more sensational press reports of crime on one side of the border, there is here a real difference deserving study and interpretation. But this explanation does not suffice to account for the concentration of unfavorable epithets. Take, for example, the frequent attribution of "materialism" to Americans. It is very hard to find objective grounds to justify the statement that Americans are more "materialistic" than, say, Englishmen or Frenchmen—or Canadians. It is much easier to see why, *because of the relationship of Canada to the United States*, Canadians should be disposed to make this attribution. The larger scale of the American market, the larger prizes and the more intensive competition they stimulate, the more rapid exploitation of resources themselves more numerous and more varied, the invasion of Canada by American finance, the swift tempo of technological advance in the United States—such conditions, inherent in the situation rather than in the people, convey to the citizens of a country subject to the impact of these forces an almost inevitable feeling that Americans are more "materialistic." Or, again, take the epithet "boastful" that tops the unfavorable list. In the meeting of ethnocentricities every country, asserting its own superiority, emphatically rejects the counter-claims of its neighbors. The particular mode of rejection depends on the particular grounds on which the counter-claim is based. In the United States that claim has an association with the scale of things, the extent of resources, the amount of wealth, the size of the population, the expansion of industry, the growth of cities. The Canadian neighbor must base his own assertion of superiority on other grounds, and consequently his rejection of the American counter-claim finds expression in the predominant charge of "boastfulness."

These conclusions are strengthened when we survey the evidences relative to attitudes rather than opinions. Obviously the investigators could not uncover attitudes, as they could opinions, by simply asking people to state them. People are generally unreflective about their attitudes and even when they are fully conscious of them may be reluctant to acknowledge them. People do not usually attribute to themselves, however ready they may be to attribute to others, such attitudes as jealousy or fear. People indicate their

attitudes rather than announce them. Certain questions were accordingly evolved for use in interviews and questionnaires, in the hope that they would throw light on the attitudes that underlay the expressed opinions. Studies were also made of the manner and degree in which American methods were adopted in Canada and in which Canadian social institutions responded to American influences. The evidences thus obtained are quite significant. They show, in particular, far greater cultural affinity between the two peoples than the expressed opinions suggest. The adoption by Canadians of types of organization, similar to those of the United States, from labor unions to college fraternities, the preference of American to British periodicals revealed in different strata of the population, the not infrequent confession that personal relations are more easily established with Americans than with Englishmen, the fact that among the school children more would choose to live in the United States than in any other country outside of Canada, are among the many indications that conspire to convey this impression. Certainly they reveal the fact that the prevailing attitudes of Canadians towards the United States are not antagonistic in any profound sense, but rather are defensively assertive, seeking to maintain a counterpoise against the weight of the cultural influences and the economic controls that emanate from across the border.

We shall understand these attitudes more fully if we view them also in the light of the internal Canadian situation, and of this, too, we get many glimpses in the record. Particularly should we observe how Canadian attitudes towards the United States are affected by the Canadian problem of national unity. In certain respects this is akin to the American problem. Here, too, is a new land expanded from industrial East to agricultural West, a land of diverse national elements, the meeting-place of old traditions and of new aspirations. But in Canada the problem of national unity is beset with greater difficulties. In Canada, between five great sections, strung lengthwise across a continent, the barriers of distance are but narrowly bridged, and at the two links where the physical barrier is least formidable there interposes the further barrier of a different tongue and different faith. Moreover, within each of these semi-isolated areas, themselves geographically confluent with areas of the United States, the opposing pulls of the forces that draw Canada towards England

and the Empire and of those that draw her towards the United States vary in character and in intensity. In the Maritimes, the economic pull towards the United States is greater than in Ontario, while the cultural pull of England is more powerful than in Quebec. In Ontario the English tradition, rooted in the inheritance of the United Empire Loyalists and fed by industrial adherence to a high tariff against the United States, is stronger than in the Prairie Provinces. These and many other differences are brought out in the study. Especially in Part One, which sets out the conditions affecting the formation of Canadian opinion. We refer to them here to illustrate the peculiar difficulties that Canadians face in seeking a sure ground of national unity. The more the reader realizes the nature of the Canadian problem of unity the more he will understand the attitudes of Canadians towards the United States. The record here presented will have a different meaning for him. The opinions expressed by Canadians will no longer appear to him capricious or arbitrary, any more than they will seem to be an impartial verdict on the facts. But whatever bias he detects will become understandable. Possibly, for the cementing of good relationships, it may be more important, on both sides, to understand the grounds of bias than directly to controvert it.

Many variations of opinion and attitude found by the investigators to characterize different groups or different areas may also be, at least in part, explicable in the light of this general principle. We may cite, for example, the more stubborn opposition of French Canada to American cultural influences. French Canada is a cultural unity within a political unity. It is an island surrounded by a dominantly Anglo-Saxon civilization which it fears even when it comes to economic or political terms with it. There is therefore a measure of expediency in its making anti-Americanism a standard around which to rally its cultural forces. We may note also that the rural areas of Canada tend to be the most concerned with American "immorality." Part of the explanation may be that, fearing the invasion of urban influences, they identify these influences under an alien name, that of Americanism. We may note again that the charge of "boastfulness" comes most insistently from Canadian communities near the border. This, too, is what we might expect if,

as we have suggested, the basis of judgment is relative to the situation of those who make the judgment.

This relativity of judgment is revealed in many other ways. The reader should particularly remember in this regard that Canada and the United States are so closely bound within a common civilization that any event or process of change occurring in the larger country has an immediate repercussion on the other. Perhaps in no country in the world is there so direct and so inevitable a response to occurrences in another as there is in Canada to occurrences in the United States. Every new piece of legislation at Washington, every change of wage-rates in an American industry, every economic trend developing in the United States, every change of fashion, make their demands across the border. In Professor Brady's account of parliamentary debates at Ottawa (Chapter XIV) the tendency to look on everything that happens in the United States as either a model or a warning is sufficiently illustrated. The same tendency runs through editorial comment and all the other expressions of Canadian public opinion.

Our study deals only with opinions and attitudes, but there are evidences of other kinds that might be adduced to show how relative and also how partial are the grounds of judgment when the people of any one nation apply epithets to the people of another. For example, certain selective factors come into play to determine the kind and degree of acquaintance that Canadians generally have with Americans. Americans are met and are known chiefly as tourists, as transients or temporary residents engaged in some enterprise of business or finance, and as immigrants. Tourists are often people released from the normal routine of life, and acting accordingly. The transients of business or finance are easily viewed as representing American interests which adversely affect those of Canada. The immigrants give evidence of tendencies which everywhere in some degree characterize those who have detached themselves from their earlier habituations. Citizens of the United States who migrate to Canada have a crime rate nearly twice as high as that among the native Canadian population.

This is the side of the picture that Canadians see. The other side of the picture, that for Canadians resident in the United States the crime rate is fifty per cent higher than for the American native

white population, is not so easily brought into the reckoning. (For the facts, *see* E. H. Sutherland, "Is There Undue Crime Among Immigrants?" *Proceedings* of the National Conference of Social Work, 54th Annual Session, 1927, pp. 576–577). Moreover, while there are evidences to suggest that the immigrants in both directions contribute more than the average in the way of enterprise and achievement, this conclusion cannot be demonstrated with the simple statistical assurance attaching to the figures on crime. It is easy to understand, therefore, how attitudes responsive to national conditions find confirmation not only in the selective character of the information conveyed by the press and other agencies of communication but also in the selective character of more direct experience.

In concluding this cursory review of the evidence, it may be permissible to draw a practical inference which should be of interest to those who seek to advance international understanding. The mere appeal to good will can scarcely make headway against the conditions that everywhere foster prejudice and stimulate unfavorable attitudes. It is through the knowledge of these conditions that a greater realism can be imparted to the movement for international understanding. We must see things as they are before we can hope to control them. In this great area of public opinion to see things as they are is to see also why they appear to men to be different from what they really are. Surely in this knowledge, if we pursue it and apply it, there is a powerful means for the development of a more positive and a more realistic education in international relations.

III. *The Presentation of the Results of the Investigation.* In the volume before us, under the editorship of Professor Angus, the various contributors present in digest form the results of their labors. It falls naturally into two parts, one dealing more specifically with the organs and agencies that foster and focus opinion and the other more specifically with the emergent opinions themselves. Together these parts portray the range of contemporary opinion in Canada concerning the United States, for though there are various backward glances the main subject is the present scene. It is well to emphasize this point, since public opinion on such matters is variable and responsive to changing conditions. If, for example, a study of this kind had been made before the War, or before the

entry of the United States into the War, or before the recent depression, significantly different results would have been attained.

The task thus accomplished is one beset by hazard and yet full of promise. It is a task rarely essayed and more rarely, indeed perhaps never before, undertaken on the scale here attempted. For this book sets out the variety of opinions expressed by one people concerning another, and seeks with scholarly care to reveal the attitudes of that people towards the other and to uncover the conditions to which these attitudes and these opinions are a response.

The hazards are obvious. Is it not, some may ask, the mere wantonness of trouble-making to array, classify, and proclaim the sentiments, many of them by no means complimentary, that a country cherishes towards its neighbor? It seems a necessity of national unity that every country should esteem itself above others and should foster that esteem by the gratifying contrast between its own ways and those of others. Can it possibly make for good will to draw the attention of the people of one country to the picture it presents in the doubtless distorting mirror of alien eyes? When a well-known poet prayed for the gift of seeing ourselves as others see us, he was thinking of individuals, not of nations. No nation seeks this disconcerting knowledge. Why undertake the gratuitous and unwelcome task?

Moreover, attitudes are elusive and kaleidoscopic things. They are not like opinions, the utterances men offer to the world; they lie hidden behind the utterance and may no more resemble the utterance than the clothes resemble the man. Men are free with their opinions, but they do not communicate their attitudes; they may not even themselves know what their attitudes are, or, knowing, they may want to cloak rather than to reveal them. Attitudes can only be inferred, and the inference is precarious. Moreover, when we are dealing with such pervasive sentiments as those of nationality the investigator is never wholly neutral; either he shares the attitude he is investigating or he approaches it from the viewpoint of another probably conflicting attitude. How can he escape from this circle of subjectivity? How can he escape the implications of his own attitudes when he examines those of others? Even the reader is faced with the same dilemma. When he reads the more unfavorable comments that the people of another country make about his own

people, his own attitude in turn becomes emotionally colored and is apt to prevent him from seeing clearly why this other people should pass such partial and surely unreasonable judgments.

Faced by two such serious hazards as those we have just mentioned, what can we gain by presenting a study of this kind? What compensations countervail the risks we run? I am convinced that the studies here published were well worth making, and that it is a statesmanlike and far-sighted act on the part of the sponsors of these studies to include them in the volumes of the Canadian-American investigation. It is not merely that the investigation would be incomplete without this volume, it is not merely that to omit this aspect of Canadian-American relations would be to omit something that is vital to the understanding of international relations. There is also a weighty consideration of a positive character.

The final barrier to that international order which alone can safeguard the world against the intolerable menaces confronting it is not the difference of national economic interests. Every student of economics knows that these larger interests, as distinct from the interests of particular economic groups, unite far more than they divide. It is not the difference of national faiths and philosophies. Similar differences do not prevent people from living coöperatively together within a national community. The final barrier is the misunderstanding and the prejudice with which every country views its neighbor. This prejudice is no doubt fostered by particular interests, but its roots lie elsewhere, in the exclusive and narrow nationalism that has taken blind possession of our age. We are still children when we think of ourselves in national terms. We have not learned to respect the differences that characterize other nations than our own. We are acutely conscious of these differences but generally we misunderstand them, so that the sense of them merely feeds our prejudice. Every nation inevitably asserts its independence and thus its difference from others. And the easiest way to assert difference is to take refuge in prejudice. In this area, as the editor of the present volume remarks, dispassionate scientific curiosity is the least common of attitudes. Even those who are trained to think objectively in other matters easily yield here to emotional assertion and wishful thinking and hasty judgment.

So we set up a distorted image of other nations. We scarcely realize that they are just as human as ourselves. We pick up alike those facts and those fancies that selectively feed our prejudice. The image grows continually more remote from the reality. We act towards this image as we would never act towards the reality, and this in turn helps to confirm in other nations *their* distorted image of *us*. The American reader of this book will time and again come upon an image of this kind. He knows it does not really represent his people. But let him exercise patience, for thus only will he take the attitude that can protect against similar prejudice on his own part. Prejudice breeds prejudice, as fear breeds fear. In this matter no one of us can afford to throw the first stone. When many Canadians express dislike of racketeering and gangsters and crooked politics, they are apt to think that these things typify the United States. They do not perceive the conditions out of which these things arise, nor do they realize that the great majority of Americans dislike them, too. Americans have no temptation to set up this particular kind of image, but Canadians do.

Why they do so the reader can learn from this book, why it is *their* way of being human under the particular conditions they have to meet. And one important conclusion that emerges is that the image that one people forms of another—in this instance the image that Canadians form of the United States—is explicable when we know the circumstances of that people, but explicable always on other grounds than the merits of the case. That is why it is necessary to get beyond opinions to attitudes, and then to see how attitudes are responsive to conditions. When we come to appreciate these conditions—the requirements of a separate national identity seeking to establish itself across a many-ribbed continental belt, seeking to maintain itself against internal divisions and against strong external affinities, and fearing the encroachments that come from the radiating influences, social and economic, of a neighboring and vastly larger state—then we see that the image formed by Canadians of Americans is as natural a phenomenon as the rising sun.

It is this revelation that makes these studies so worth while. There is ample evidence in the book that Canadians generally have a friendly and neighborly feeling towards Americans as individuals. As one Canadian expressed it, "we like the Americans we know, but

we do not like the United States." For those who share this view the United States is an image, not the real people they know. So it is with all peoples in their attitudes towards others. It is this image, this unreality, that does most to prevent good relations. Happily it does not seriously interfere in the relations of the United States and Canada. Between no other two countries are good relations so permanently and so indubitably assured. Between no other two is the threat of armed conflict so utterly absent, so unthinkable, as between the two that lie north and south of the unfortified frontier. The image that Canadians form of Americans is lacking in those major distortions that the memory and the fear of war breed in the thoughts of less fortunately situated nations.

Were it not for this fact the present volume would never have been prepared and published. That it has been, and by an organization dedicated to good will between nations, is itself the completest testimony to the integrity of the bond between the two countries. It is quite improbable that any responsible organization could at the present time make a similar study in France for German readers, in Germany for French readers, in Italy for English readers, in almost any European country for the readers of almost any other European country. It is exceedingly probable that were such an enterprise undertaken the result would be the acerbation of existing relations. But since bitterness is remote from the feelings of Canadians and Americans towards one another, they can surely profit from a fuller understanding of one another. This understanding, under these favorable circumstances, can surely promote the recognition of the common-sense principle which regulates the relations of cultivated human beings towards one another but which is so hard for nations to attain, viz., that the differences between them and others are to be respected and to be made the basis of intelligent and fruitful interchange. The more this principle is recognized, the less will the image of the neighboring nation suffer distortion. The United States and Canada have already gone together further on the road of understanding than perhaps any other two nations. With the aid of the very kind of knowledge that this book supplies, they can go further still.

The complaint is sometimes made by Canadians that Americans know nothing about Canada. In so far as this is true, it is to be

explained, like so many other attitudes, by a difference in circumstances, not by a difference in human nature. Many Americans travel in Canada and know something of the country from the traveller's point of view; few know it from the inside, and this is knowledge more difficult to attain. Perhaps there is no better way to give it than through a book which seeks to show how Americans appear in Canadian eyes.

I have sought to show that the first hazard of which I spoke is offset by the promise of consequent better understanding. If the reader is willing to lay aside prejudice, this book will help, on both sides, to remove prejudice. Many things are brought out in the evidence that may seem at first surprising or curious, such facts, for example, as that United States history suffers from neglect in Canadian schools, that newspapers in Canada are more outspoken and more critical concerning the United States than publicists and authors, that less nationalistic bias is shown in the private than in the public schools, and that it is in the rural areas and among the adherents of the more conservative mores in Canada that the least favorable attitudes toward the United States are frequently found. But as the reader advances he will see more and more that these tendencies are neither accidental nor yet humanly perverse, but a perfectly explicable consequence of the situation in which they occur.

As for the second hazard, arising from the difficulty of giving a true perspective of attitudes, we may observe that it is actually far smaller when we are dealing on this broad scale with the characteristic attitudes of one people towards another than if we were seeking to discover the attitudes of individuals towards other individuals. No reader can go very far in this work without perceiving that every part of it reinforces the conclusions of every other part. The consensus demonstrates the accuracy of the various explorations. The picture presented is a coherent whole. It has been the part of the editor, Professor Angus, to establish the unity of the whole, and this he has done with skill and with clarity. And in the general analysis, in which he reviews the various contributions and shows how they reveal the special conditions and problems of Canadian nationality, he rounds out with clear-eyed discretion his difficult enterprise.

R. M. MacIver.

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PART I

GENERAL ANALYSIS OF OPINIONS AND ATTITUDES IN CANADA

CANADA AND HER GREAT NEIGHBOR

GENERAL ANALYSIS OF OPINIONS AND ATTITUDES IN CANADA

I. THE AIMS OF THE STUDY

In the first half of this book we have examined a number of the chief influences which have contributed to the formation of the present-day opinions and attitudes of Canadians concerning the United States and Canadian-American relations. In each case an attempt was made to appraise the importance of the influence in the past, and in some cases estimates were made of what might be expected in the immediate future. But it is impossible to speak with confidence of the precise effect which any particular influence may have, for many influences act at the same time and all that comes under our observation is the total result which they produce in combination. Sometimes we have been able to form a general idea of the direction in which some one influence has operated, but not infrequently the same influence has operated in several directions at the same time, because it has affected different classes of people in different ways. For instance, American magazines, American radio programs and American motion pictures impress some Canadians with the glamour of American life and create in others an aversion to it, while a third and more sophisticated section of the Canadian public may remain unmoved because it is sceptical of the existence of the American life described in stories or depicted on the screen. Even this guarded statement over-simplifies our problem, for the same agency, whether it be the screen, the press or the radio, may carry many and varied messages for those who have eyes to see and ears to hear. For example, the radio which brings to Canadians the American programs that offer attractive entertainment both at high and low cultural levels, is also a means of eavesdropping on the intimate detail of American public life and has enabled Canadians to listen at will to the speeches of Mr. Roosevelt, of Father Coughlin or of the late Senator Huey Long. And it is the same agency which has helped to keep alive and to strengthen the bonds of sentiment which unite Canadians with other citizens of the British Commonwealth of Nations, and in this way has played

a part in maintaining a Canadian world-outlook different in character from that which appears now to be dominant in the United States.

These considerations have made it desirable to separate the examination of the influences, which have undoubtedly had some effect on opinion in Canada, from the study, occupying the second half of the book, of the actual opinions and attitudes which have resulted from the united action of all these influences taken together. Just as the factors which have built up opinion had to be examined one by one, the various channels through which opinions are expressed or attitudes disclosed have been taken singly. The Canadian press, considered as an expression of Canadian opinion rather than as a factor in its formation, has been studied by samples taken from different parts of Canada and for different periods of time. The expression of opinion in Parliament was examined, as were the views set forth in books and formal articles. Several regional studies were made by interviews and questionnaires to find out what people think and feel, who do not record their opinions in published writings. Below this level lies inarticulate opinion and attitudes which are unconsciously betrayed by behavior rather than by words. To this level our study could not penetrate except by noticing occasional incidents which seemed significant, and occasional phrases which served as fingerposts.

There was diversity among these various samples of Canadian opinion, and yet there were discernible trends which affected them all. Both the diversity and the unity require explanation. We must explain, as best we can, why the daily press is continually critical of Americans and devotes a large proportion of its editorial comment to American affairs, while more pretentious articles on American political, social and economic issues are rare in Canadian reviews. We must explain how people, who genuinely like the Americans they know, are often severe in their comments on the United States. We must explain a curious self-consciousness which expresses itself sometimes in mild resentment of American ignorance of Canada, sometimes in an assertion of superiority, and sometimes in flashes of jealousy or envy. We must explain, too, how it has become a fixed habit to refuse to acknowledge the faint trace of latent hostility which is apt to betray itself in some uncensored word or act. But it is perhaps the unity of Canadian opinion which

first requires examination, and our initial task must be to find some explanation of this unity in diversity, or some pattern which will account for both resemblances and differences among the opinions which prevail in different parts of Canada and among different groups of Canadians.

II. CANADIAN NATIONALISM

The most useful, though at the same time the most dangerous, phrase that can be used in interpreting Canadian opinion is "Canadian Nationalism." It is useful because it explains the similarity of outlook of sections of the country which apparently have very little in common with one another. It is dangerous because Canadian nationalism is so unlike other nationalisms, in important if not vital respects, that it may be misleading to call it by that name.

To understand Canadian nationalism requires intellectual agility analogous to the manual dexterity of a juggler who can keep three balls in the air at once. For Canadian nationalism has three distinct elements and will be seriously misunderstood if any one of them is left out of sight. First, there is the distinctive character which Canada derives from a mixture of British and French tradition in an American environment. This distinctive character can only be preserved by continually playing off the European influences against the American and maintaining a balance between them. Political bonds with Britain must be attenuated but not broken, a task which has been successfully accomplished only by a gradual historical process and by ingenious political devices. So important has this task been, and so great has been the attention devoted to it, that it has appeared at times to be the one thing that mattered in Canadian nationalism, which thus seemed to have an exclusively political character and to be identified with the aspiration for an autonomy, differing from national sovereignty only by the preservation of the lightest of formal ties with the British Commonwealth. Many Canadian orators can have meant little more than an assertion that this autonomy had been created, when they have declaimed that Canada has achieved full nationhood.

But if too close political relationship with Great Britain would have been fatal to Canadian nationality, so, too, would have been

any political vassalage to the United States. Economic and social relationships with that country, which were generally thought of as desirable in themselves, appeared as a danger the moment they involved the prospect of loss of identity. Here, too, a compromise has been reached, which can be enshrined in the phrase North Americanism. Qualities, which it would be humiliating to think of as borrowed from the United States, can be complacently assumed to arise from a common environment. But the very existence of this concept of North Americanism makes it more important than ever to stress Canada's British and French traditions, for some difference from the United States is essential to individuality, and no significant difference can be found in an environment which is accepted as common. There may well be two nations on the North American continent, but only if there is some division or barrier between them, at least as important as that which separates English-speaking and French-speaking Canada. Indeed, when we say that Canada is a young nation, we are assuming the conclusion which we wish to reach, and are indulging in the same sort of conventional optimism which is implicit in the old Russian habit of calling *moujiks* "souls" or the American habit of calling houses "homes." We are in all these cases taking for granted that what is psychologically conceivable is in fact true. Whether or not Canada is destined to grow into a nation depends in part on her ability to create and preserve a true unity among her scattered population, and in part on her ability to retain or to develop characteristics which distinguish her from the United States.

The second element in Canadian nationalism is economic, and explains why many Canadians want Canada to be a nation. We have shown at some length how Canada's existence as a political unit with her own territory, her own laws, her own monetary system and her own tariff has created a vast mass of vested interests which are dependent on the perpetuation of this separateness. It is obvious that, correlatively to these vested interests, exploited groups exist, and that each vested interest is essentially a power to make a profit at the expense of an exploited group. But those who are exploited are not kept in their place by force. Rousseau's maxim explains their servitude, "*Le plus fort n'est jamais assez fort pour être toujours le maître s'il ne transforme sa force en droit et l'obéissance en devoir.*"

The doctrine of nationalism does the trick. It "transforms force into right and obedience into duty." It makes it seem the best of citizenship to use the schools for propaganda.[1]

It is a faith: and, as a faith can be fought with counter-faith better than with the unaided reason, those who, on the prairies or in British Columbia, talk of seceding from Canada are likely to stress their political loyalty to the Empire, a loyalty which distinguishes them from rebels.

The third element in Canadian nationalism is a matter of sentiment. In one sense sentiment is merely the expression of tradition or of economic interest. In another it is merely an instinctive concealment of the narrowness of tradition or of the repulsiveness of economic selfishness. But, whatever its origin, once sentiment exists it builds up a set of vested interests of its own. These vested interests, which are not primarily pecuniary, but are themselves moral or sentimental, have been described in some detail. It is obvious that such people as customs officials and immigration officials have a financial interest in perpetuating political frontiers, and one could imagine an international trade union of chiefs of state formed to preserve the existence of small nations. But a far larger body of people hold offices, or social positions, whose prestige is enhanced by their national character. There are thousands of large frogs in small ponds whose united chorus does much to maintain the sentiment which we designate as national pride. There is, of course, a

1. On the first page of a school-book which a child of eight must buy in British Columbia, there is printed:

MY CREED

I believe in Canada.
I love her as my home.
I honor her institutions.
I rejoice in the abundance of her resources.

I glory in the record of her achievements.
I have unbounded confidence in the ability of her people to excel in whatsoever they undertake.
I cherish exalted ideals of her destiny as a leader among world nations.

To her I pledge my loyalty.
To the promotion of her best interests I pledge my support.
To her products I pledge my patronage.
And to the cause of her producers I pledge my devotion.

twofold danger besetting this sentimental basis of Canadian nationalism. It might be impaired if too much importance were attached to such distinctions as the British Crown or British society can confer. Extreme Canadian nationalists are almost certain to protest not only against hereditary titles but against any distinctions conferred by the King, while they are not nearly so likely to object to Canadians accepting the Legion of Honor at the hands of the President of the French Republic. Yet the distinctions which come from foreign sources might be equally dangerous to Canadian national solidarity, and this hypothetical danger is not far removed from realization with reference to the United States. The presidency, or vice-presidency, of "international" organizations whether vocational or social, the honors conferred by American universities, the social prestige of Junior Leagues are, in their way, as insidious an attack on the sentimental basis of Canadian nationalism as the hitherto more potent British decorations were accused of being. So, in the sphere of sentiment, as well as in political and economic relationships, we find Canadians balancing the United States against Great Britain and siding with whichever influence is the weaker for the time being. Again we find the ingenious concept of the British Commonwealth of Nations paralleled by the equally ingenious concept of North Americanism. Both concepts have a similar purpose: to account for close resemblance and close association by a phrase which will not carry the undesirable implication of identity.

The three elements, which we have compared to the three balls that the conjurer keeps in the air, constitute Canadian nationalism. But it is quite as important that we should realize what Canadian nationalism is not; for the significant fact is not the presence of these three elements, which exist in the case of most nation-states, but their stark nakedness. It is still an open question whether Canadian nationality can acquire the character, depth and independence which distinguish great nationalities, and seem to justify their existence as something without which the world would be poorer. Canadians of necessity seek outside Canada many of the things which seem essentials in the life of a normal nation. We have seen that this is true alike of the traditions of the past and of the culture of today. However creditable Canadian literary efforts may be, if account is taken of the handicaps of those who put them forth, there

is very little in Canadian letters which a foreign student of the literature of the English or French languages would have occasion to read, except as a sample of what was being done in Canada. Canadians themselves would recoil from making their own letters the staple of literary instruction in their schools. They take it for granted that their natural literary range includes English and American writings for those who speak English, and French literature for those whose mother tongue is French. In general, it should be emphasized that Canadians, as a matter of course, include as thoroughly their own much that, if national barriers were sharply drawn, would have to be counted as English or American. It is an error to think of the British Commonwealth as merely a political, or of North Americanism as merely a cultural, idea. Both comprise, each in its own way, much that is vital to Canadian life, and form part of the intimate social environment of Canadians. Neither can be called foreign without important reservations: indeed neither is really thought of by Canadians as foreign.

And yet Canadian nationality exists and it would be harsh to ask whether in essence it is based on fact or fiction. Probably it is the exaggeration of a fact, magnified by subtle fictions and by subtle suppressions. Canadians are a little ashamed to admit the extent to which their life is extra-national. In a world accustomed to the doctrine of national sovereignty, they are not prepared to say outright, and to teach in their schools, that for them old-fashioned nationality does not exist and that their lines of demarcation from the outside world are threefold and do not form concentric circles. For they are Canadian, British, and North American and cannot, even if they would, place their lives in the narrower framework of a national state. If at times they appear to do so it is because the national state sets the fashion in the world today. To a dispassionate observer, there may be something pathetic in this attitude of Canadians, for with sufficient detachment we can think of Canadians creating a nationality as analogous to primitive peoples learning to disfigure themselves with clothes, because they mistake the clothes for civilization. However, Canadians cannot be expected to be detached observers of themselves and they take their nation-building very seriously. (*See* the "Creed" in footnote 1, p. 5.) They are naturally optimistic and perhaps they exaggerate their

achievement. If so, they live to some degree in an atmosphere of make-believe.

III. CANADIAN SENSITIVENESS

People who feel, but do not openly admit, that they live in an atmosphere of make-believe, respond in various ways to this curious situation. Some insist on forcing the facts to conform to their wishes, and these, in Canada, are often aggressively nationalistic, even in small matters. They insist on the Canadian national anthem as well as the British being sung at all solemnities or celebrations, and even at musical entertainments, at the cost of inflicting two patriotic songs on the patient audience. They endeavor to inject, more and more, purely Canadian writings into the schools, even if some sacrifice in literary merit is involved. They press for a Canadian national flag, of which the Union Jack shall not form a part. They ask for a Canadian as Governor-General, with the implication that all future Governors-General shall be Canadians. They contend that Canada is not part of the British Empire. They are vocally North American but wish to confront the United States as an equal on the North American continent, as they confront Great Britain as an equal in the British Commonwealth.

Others, with different wishes, are no less anxious to bring the facts into conformity with their aspirations. They insist on preserving all possible ties with Great Britain. They take a deep interest in the British Royal Family. They insist on retaining the Union Jack as symbolic of an Empire which can be depended on to have a united policy in a crisis. They treat the United States as completely foreign and resist any sort of Americanization. They are somewhat on the defensive and are much less likely than the extreme nationalists to give a Fascist turn to their philosophy.

There is a third group. Intimate North Americanism is the ideal of a few, but their influence is comparatively weak and they are constrained to pose as an enlightened minority. There is no North American flag; no North American anthem; no North American institutions; and no North American tradition.

Many Canadians belong to none of these groups but are influenced by each in turn. In some circumstances they are primarily British and feel as direct a loyalty to the British Commonwealth as to

Canada; in others they are aggressively North American and may speak of ultimate union with the United States; in others Canada as a separate nation is idealized. Under normal circumstances all three influences may be harmonized, but on special occasions one or other of them may assume a distasteful form and on these occasions some discomfort or uneasiness is felt.

Where, then, does reality lie? "Fools build houses wise men live in them!" Those Canadians who are not highly self-conscious accept without question working compromises which correspond much better to realities than do the ambitious theories. They accept a Canadian anthem, but sing *God Save the King* as well. The Canadian flag has not yet come into being and as to its design there is much dispute, analogous to the difficulties which have surrounded the choice of words for "O Canada".[2] No Canadian has been appointed as Governor-General, but such an appointment would occasion no astonishment. Mr. Bennett, then Prime Minister of Canada, declared in the first of his radio addresses in the election of 1935 that Canada would not participate in any war in which Canadians are not directly interested: but he omitted to say whether, in his judgment, they would be directly interested in a war arising out of the application of sanctions by the League of Nations.[3] As regards the United States the line of nationality is closely and at times almost aggressively drawn by both countries in matters of tariff, migration, naturalization and the status of aliens, but there would probably be little opposition in Canada to the construction of a military highway joining the United States to Alaska, and there is no doubt whatever in the minds of Canadians that the United States would offer military aid if Canada were invaded. Culturally there are few barriers, although, as we shall see, motion pictures are subject to censorship, Canadian periodicals for a time received important tariff protection, and a Canadian Radio Commission was instituted.[3a] The phrase which we choose to describe Canada's position will show our point of view, or our personal wishes, but there will be little

2. See p. 231 for comment on the various versions of the Canadian National Anthem.

3. In a subsequent address, the Prime Minister "clarified" his earlier statement by saying that he would keep Canada out of war by all *honorable* means.

3a. Now superseded by the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation.

sacrifice of accuracy, no matter whether we speak of a mass of contradictions, sensible compromises, a political egg-dance, cynical opportunism, a policy of drift or healthy realism. In understanding how so apparently unstable and ill-defined a situation can continue, we must not forget that there is a decisive factor which has been inevitably somewhat neglected in this study: the political influence of French-speaking Canada which gently and persistently maintains Canadian identity.

Whether it be permanent or not, this equivocal position influences the attitude of Canadians both towards Great Britain and towards the United States. It makes Canadians very sensitive and provokes a slight sense of humiliation at the most incongruous moments. For at times Canada seems subservient to Great Britain, at others to the United States, and in each case some Canadians will feel ashamed of their position.[4]

National super-sensitiveness is perhaps a passing phase in Canada, as it has been in the United States, but it is the phase which we are observing. It accounts for many things which might occasion surprise and which we have noted as requiring explanation: impatience with American ignorance of Canada; irritation with American boasting, or flag-waving; and, most important of all, the constant fear of the United States as a preponderating cultural influence. In each of these three cases Canadian sensitiveness has seized on admitted facts—although they are facts capable of tolerant explanation by men of common sense—and made them the excuse for irritation so intense as to require interpretation.

No Canadian seriously doubts American ignorance of Canada, but any one who stops to think can understand it. Nor does any one doubt a certain American propensity to boastfulness. It would be dismissed with a smile, either as the exuberance of youth, or as a response to the presence of immigrants who must be induced to make the best of their new homes and of an alien culture, if it did not at times take a form disparaging to Canada or to Great Britain.

4. For instance, a distinguished visitor from the Prairies found it distasteful to join in singing "At Britain's side whate'er betide, unflinchingly we'll stand" at the Vancouver Canadian Club. . . . In decorating the streets on fête days it is always a problem how to include enough American flags to attract American tourists, but not so many as to offend patriotic Canadians.

No one denies the existence of certain social evils in the United States on a scale which makes national problems out of things which might pass elsewhere as instructive illustrations of the moral weakness of mankind. But instances of crime and vice, of lynching and inquisition by torture, are capable of explanations quite consistent with recognition of the high level of civilization which has been reached by the United States. Canadians are quick to recognize this, as was demonstrated by the replies to questionnaires which accorded the United States, by overwhelming majorities, its legitimate place as a leader among the civilized nations, and yet followed with detailed charges—the evidence for which was not doubted although in fact it was sometimes either false or overdrawn—which were very hard to reconcile with a high cultural level. (*See* Chapter XIX.)

Canadian sensitiveness on these three points underlies most Canadian attitudes towards the United States, but it finds expression in different ways in different parts of Canada and among different sections of the population.

Impatience with American ignorance of Canada is aroused by intercourse with American tourists and by the experience of Canadians who visit the United States. The surprising thing is the relatively high educational level of the groups most affected by indignation at this ignorance, for this survey itself reveals that Canadian students and teachers are quite as prone to it as any other class. But the sentiment is widespread, and Canadian newspapers make it a stock joke to depict American tourists as on the lookout for snow and ice in midsummer, or for husky dogs and polar bears in the streets of populous cities.

Irritation with American boasting is very prevalent and finds quick expression if the boasting seems to be at the expense of Canada or of Great Britain. This was notably true of references to military achievement, while the quieter endurance of the English in the war almost destroyed the Canadian resentment at English "cockiness" which had led to the notorious advertisements, "no Englishman need apply." The contrast between American prosperity in the late twenties and the persistence of high unemployment figures in England, produced a somewhat similar feeling, particularly if Americans cast slurs on the dole, or showed themselves intran-

sigeant over War Debts. And there was general pleasure in the tributes which were ultimately paid by Americans in high places to unemployment insurance and to British social legislation. At present there is probably a feeling that Americans are not as boastful as they were, and a disposition to let bygones be bygones.

It is in regarding the United States as a source of undesirable cultural and social influences that there is most unanimity in Canada, and at the same time most diversity of opinion in designating the precise character of the danger. For French-Canadians the issue is clear. Their separate cultural existence is in peril if the whole of English-speaking North America unites against them, while the rest of Canada appears as a watch-dog who must be wisely treated if he is neither to lose his ferocity nor to desert to the wolves. But many English-speaking Canadians look on American civilization as evil in itself and not merely as a menace to the pattern of life which they love. Their charge would be that the standards of American civilization are materialistic and banausic; that the dollar is used as the measure of all things, even of things which men of culture or humanity think beyond price; that the social outlook in the United States is becoming biological rather than spiritual; and that the world outlook is narrow and selfish. The *tu quoque* argument is obvious, but it has little stopping power. If, as they will readily admit, Canadians are affected in some degree with the same faults, they will say that it is the United States which has influenced them. Canadians may be slipping into the crevasse, into which Americans have been mad enough to jump and, if this is so, the proper course is to cut the rope.

We must try to understand how this appreciation of Americans and their civilization, which to them must seem unfair and even Pharisaical, has been made in all sincerity by Canadians. The basis of the Canadian picture of the United States is, as we shall see, to be found in the American press, the American motion pictures and the American radio programs. The very features which make these things interesting to Americans and so ensure their survival in a profit-seeking world make them interesting to Canadians as well. For the sake of their primary audience, which is American, they make the most of American political scandals, American crime and of American social enormities generally. But the picture of the United

States which they excite in the mind of any one who relies on them alone for his information is not a pleasant one. It is true that the American scandals have their Canadian counterparts, but they are presented to Canadians in such a way that many evils appear to be the rule in the United States while they are the exception in Canada, and when there is cynicism, whether sophisticated or brutal, in American comment, it is felt to be in sharp contrast with the way Canadians discuss similar abuses in their own country. The general impression established by this picture is emphasized by the routine commentary of the Canadian press, in which both news and comments on the news are made to fit into the general pattern. For instance, the work of the great American Endowments is not presented as typically American, although it is less well imitated in Canada than American political corruption which is held up to scorn. Nor are there lacking occasions in the personal experience of Canadians which strengthen the general impression which they have acquired from the press. There are, indeed, many incidents which tend to corroborate it and those incidents which appear to conflict with it can easily be passed over as exceptional. American visitors to Canada do not boast of American philanthropy, and they are usually ready to tell delightful stories of politics, prohibition or crime, and to express rather uncritical admiration for the Canadian parliamentary system, the Canadian courts and the Royal Canadian Mounted Police, or the Canadian liquor control. Much that is distasteful to them in the life of their own community they attribute to influences which they classify as foreign. The Canadian is apt to believe that if they could draw a line between themselves and these influences as easily as he can draw the international boundary on a map they would act instantly. He therefore thinks of the Americans he knows—the good Americans —as sharing his dislike of the other Americans. If he crosses the frontier and makes his home in the United States he classes himself at once with the good Americans, and is received as one of them. He may even feel that he is more genuinely American than immigrants from Germany or Ireland, or even than Africans americanized through many generations. He betrays this feeling when he revisits Canada. But the Canadian who stays at home does not think of the undesirable features of American life as foreign to it. They are part

of it, and Americans are responsible for not repressing them. Over and over again he has heard Americans complain of foreign influences in America, has heard them deplore the fact that such and such a problem cannot be dealt with in a sensible way because it has become a matter of politics, has heard them renounce all responsibility for the action of their country. In all charity he thinks of them as good men who have the misfortune to live in a bad environment. He even feels that they are in sympathy with him when he tries to exclude this environment from Canadian soil.

If any one were to suggest that Canadian beliefs about the United States are uncritical and Canadian comments uncharitable, the Canadian reply would be that American beliefs about the British Empire are more uncritical and American comments more uncharitable. It would not be easy to test the truth of this repartee, but most Canadians would be convinced that if the present volume were to have as its counterpart an equally frank survey of American opinions and attitudes concerning Great Britain and the British Empire, they would be amply compensated for any feelings of annoyance which they may have experienced in seeing their own views analysed.

The feelings which have been described are, in a sense, basic or permanent feelings and are to be distinguished from the resentment excited by the Hawley-Smoot tariff. Tariff barriers which appear excessive do, of course, cause ill-will, but this ill-will is essentially transient and the general feeling is that it is a little unworthy to make much of it. Measures of self-protection must, of course, be taken, but in a quiet and dignified manner. Happily the annoyance occasioned by the high tariff has been assuaged by the trade agreement ratified in 1936. One must not, however, exaggerate the effect of this agreement on Canadian opinion, as some observers seem inclined to do. A cause of friction has been removed and the friction was not, in any case, likely to have had permanent consequences. But feeling is not *more* friendly today than it would have been if the Hawley-Smoot tariff had never been enacted. To think this would mean accepting the fantastic doctrine that international relations can be improved by a succession of crises followed by *détentes*.

If our evidence demonstrates the persistence of a chronic condition in which Canadians are apt to exaggerate certain dangers in American

civilization, it is not inconceivable that this condition might yield to treatment. Americans might paint a pleasanter (and perhaps at the same time a truer) picture of their own country, or Canadians might learn to view the picture more critically and to refrain from taking Americans at their own apparent valuation. But the improvement of screen, press and radio cannot be a sudden process, nor would its effect on Canada be instantaneous. Instruction in the interpretation of screen, press and radio would be a sensible enterprise in Canadian schools and in those of other countries too. But it seems an improbable enterprise, and for generations to come children are likely to be taught how to appreciate the literature which they are least likely to read when they grow up.

IV. THE WORLD OUTLOOK OF CANADA

We have noted many times the significant fact that, while Americans are individually popular, collectively they are not held in high esteem. This is only partly because of the fear that certain features of American society may invade Canada. American national policies (with the exception of the Monroe Doctrine and perhaps the New Deal) are not sympathetically regarded. The world outlook of the two peoples is not the same. If criticism on these lines rarely emerges in the books which Canadians write or in the formal articles which they publish, it is because of the combined effect of three circumstances. We shall have to notice (Chapter XV) the self-conscious attitude of Canadian writers, who take themselves very seriously, and are constantly on their good behavior. It is necessary to add that many of these writers are themselves graduates of American universities and perhaps a little more inclined to sympathize with the American world outlook than are Canadians in general. Finally, the Canadian reading public is expected to prefer that the serious articles in Canadian reviews should be devoted to Canadian problems. As we shall see, it is to the daily press which we must look for outspoken criticism of American policies. (For an analysis of the editorial pages of newspapers, *see* Chapter XIII.) And criticism is also frequent in conversation.

In a general way, we can say that American policy is looked on as inconsistent and unreliable, but this is a charge which every

country in turn must expect from foreign critics. Perhaps it can be refined in the case of the United States, and reduced to the idea that internal or sectional political pressures in that country have not been harmonized in a consistent policy, and that an administration which is ready and willing to make far-sighted plans may be constantly hampered by currents of local or regional political opinion. This interpretation accounts for the occasional indiscreet remarks of American senators—which Americans themselves are often the first to discount as of negligible weight. It accounts for the apparent incongruity of a policy which aims at expanding foreign markets and yet blocks the channels through which alone foreign buyers can acquire purchasing power in the United States—an incongruity of which the American Secretary of Agriculture seems thoroughly aware. It accounts for the impasse which has been reached in the matter of War Debts, and for the difficulties which were encountered in negotiating a treaty to provide for lower tariffs on the North American continent. It is true that Canadian policy is open to the same sort of reproach, but Canadians are much more aware of the contradictions in their neighbor's policy than of similar contradictions in their own. Self-criticism is not an easy thing for Canadians or for any one else. On the other hand, the scale of the American dilemmas makes them conspicuous. This question of scale counts for a great deal, and evils which are merely incidental and pass almost unnoticed in Canada, though they may be similarly incidental in the United States, assume large proportions there, even before they are magnified to gigantic dimensions by the American press.

But although Canadian policy shows in many ways the same defects which Canadians are quick to detect in American policy, the mere fact that Canadians are critical of the policy of the United States is some indication of a world outlook different from that which is dominant in America. It is true that the world outlook of every country is primarily an interest of its intellectuals, and that in no country are intellectuals in agreement among themselves. But a world outlook becomes dominant because of the pressures exerted by groups which, far from being or claiming to be intellectual, are alert to protect some immediate interest seemingly in peril, or by groups which are more or less blindly groping towards some moral objective that commands their allegiance. Most success is likely to

attend that leadership which can harmonize the immediate interest and the moral aspiration, and can promise that the same means will achieve both ends. When we speak of a difference in world outlook we mean that this harmonization of immediate material interests and ultimate ideals has been brought about on different lines in Canada and in the United States. For both countries want the same things: wealth and the exclusive enjoyment of their vast resources; and peace on earth and good will towards all men. They both want these two things and for both countries the order of statement indicates the order of preference. And they both blind themselves to the difficulties in the way of achieving these two aims at once, although these difficulties are clearly indicated in the religious teachings which they both accept.

Yet there is a difference between the world outlooks of the two peoples. Canada is a member of the British Empire and of the League of Nations.[5] It cannot be said that Canadians have ever shown the same steadfast acceptance of the burdens likely to be involved in their membership of the League of Nations that they displayed when the Venezuela boundary dispute brought them suddenly, through their membership of the British Empire, to the verge of an unwelcome war with the United States (for evidence on this point, *see* pp. 72-75). Yet before the Italian invasion of Abyssinia the view that Canada should remain completely aloof in the case of military coercion by the League of a recalcitrant member was held by very few of the avowed leaders of the people. The official policy, accepted by the leaders of all four of the Canadian political parties in the election of 1935, was that of membership in the League of Nations and loyal observance of the covenant. The Prime Minister and the Leader of the Opposition are still Honorary Presidents of the League of Nations Society in Canada. The immunity of Canada from danger of war appeared to many to be an aim which should in certain circumstances be renounced in the interests of an effort to preserve world peace, which seemed a more practical or realistic objective.[6] Canadian opinion could not have been

5. *See* F. H. Soward, *Canada and the League of Nations*, International Conciliation pamphlet, No. 283, 1932.

6. *See* J. W. Dafoe, "A Foreign Policy for Canada," *Queen's Quarterly*, Summer, 1935, p. 161.

described as isolationist. Indeed, while the United States has controlled its own destinies for a hundred and fifty years, Canadians have always been accustomed to accepting fairly cheerfully the risks arising from their association with other nations, without inquiring very closely whether the benefits did or did not outweigh the risks.

The steady development of Canadian autonomy, of which Canadians are very proud, has operated in the opposite direction and has made Canadians unwilling to undertake precise obligations, either towards Great Britain or towards the League of Nations, which would commit Canada to go to war in certain contingencies. There has been no authoritative repudiation of any obligations, no denial that some obligations exist, but there has been repeated insistence that the extent of these obligations must be interpreted by the Canadian parliament after a crisis has arisen and not before it arises.[7] Thus the degree of Canadian participation in any system of collective security is left vague, and is likely to vary with changing currents of opinion in Canada. It is very important to distinguish this insistence on autonomy, which is substantially state sovereignty, from deliberate isolation from the quarrels of other nations.

In the early stages of the Italian invasion of Abyssinia, Canadians seemed to be much readier than Americans to respond to leadership which would support a collective system for guaranteeing nations against aggression. Canada readily coöperated in the League's economic sanctions and appeared at one time to be prepared to press for more drastic action than Great Britain was willing to take. The publication of the Hoare-Laval proposals was a shock to Canadian public opinion, though perhaps not quite so great a shock as it was to public opinion in Great Britain. Finally Canada, unlike New Zealand and South Africa but independently of Great Britain, acquiesced in the termination of sanctions and resumed trade with Italy.

In the subsequent discussions both in Parliament[8] and at Geneva

7. This insistence on parliamentary approval of policy is obviously an attempt to secure the peculiar advantages which the American Constitution is supposed to have given by making ratification by the Senate essential to the validity of treaties. One of these advantages is political rather than national. The requirement limits the responsibility of the administration.

8. *House of Commons Debates,* LXXII, No. 87.

the Canadian government has made it clear that it will not give any undertaking as to how it will act in hypothetical circumstances, but has also stated that it believes in international coöperation for the avoidance of wars and that the possibility of its concurring in joint action, after the parliament of Canada has been consulted, is not excluded. The effect of this statement has been to avoid raising in Canada issues which might cut sharply across party lines and upset the political balance of the country. Crucial decisions have been postponed till the hour of crisis when a precise issue will be raised and when, with luck, agreement may be easy. This solution of Canada's dilemma is obviously convenient in many ways, though some are dubious of the statesmanship which leaves important matters to be decided when accurate information is hard to obtain and when emotions are violently excited.

What Canadian opinion might be in such a crisis no one could predict with complete confidence. We can, however, say something of the effect on Canadian opinion of the events of the last year. There is a strong and (at the moment of writing, October, 1936) probably a growing opinion in favor of what is called isolation. It is supported, and not unnaturally, by many of those who took the League of Nations most seriously and who have, therefore, suffered the bitterest disillusionment. It might easily be checked if strong support of the League were to come from Great Britain.

There are also Canadian intellectuals to whom there is something repulsive in what seems a naïve and sentimental attempt to bring a mad world to its senses, and to whom isolation (in company with the United States on a continent insulated by American armaments and the American doctrine of neutrality) seems the only sensible policy for Canada. These intellectuals have a popular following, for there is a strong emotional dislike of any risk of war, and the academic question of whether isolation is practicable in the long run is likely to receive an affirmative answer if it arises at a moment at which a collective peace system appears as if it might involve Canada in a war, although no direct Canadian interests are at stake.

On the other hand, many are loath to abandon the attempt to create an international order merely because of set-backs which might have been anticipated, and others, probably numerous though never vocal, feel that their sympathy with Great Britain,

which has always been strong, is keener now than ever before. For Britain seems to them to be faced with the problem of helping others to keep the peace while avoiding, as far as possible, the hazard of being embroiled in their quarrels.[9] These currents of opinion have resulted in a certain confusion or bewilderment, and they have not yet created a settled Canadian outlook. Startling events may produce a fairly unanimous mass of opinion, or may plunge Canada into a bitter internal dispute.

There is a difference between these cross currents of Canadian opinion and the isolationist outlook of Americans on world affairs. It remains to consider how far, if at all, this difference affects Canadian opinion about the United States. Every one knows that a collective peace system which included the United States would be far more powerful and would involve less risk of armed conflict than one that does not. Many Canadians feel that America planned the League, helped to bring it into being with aims which were impossible of achievement without American coöperation, as good as promised this coöperation, and then, at the last moment, withheld it. An institution which might have been a life-line for world peace was thus replaced by an unseaworthy raft, not unlikely to prove a death trap in a storm. It is inevitable that many Canadians should think that if the United States had acted in 1919 as Canada, also a North American nation, and also a peace-loving nation, acted, the world would be happier and safer than it is today. And Canada's position in particular would be much easier. For the League, even in its hour of relative failure, still seems an experiment from which it would be ignoble to withdraw; from which indeed Canada cannot withdraw in the face of danger without a real peril to Canadian unity. This unity would be divided on an issue which, but for the action of the United States, would never have been raised. While the realization of Canadian disunity enables Canadians to understand the somewhat similar division of opinion which has apparently made isolation a condition of American unity, and while it enables them to exonerate American administrations from any callous sabotage of world peace, the reproach is apt to be transferred from the

9. My own experience on returning from Europe in the autumn of 1936 was to find intellectuals more isolationist than they were a year before, but, to my surprise, to find sympathy with Great Britain in rearming to avoid war extremely wide-spread.

American government to the American people, in the form of a charge that they were disunited when they should have been united, that they did not honor the obligation which their President incurred on their behalf, and that they exercised their legal right to reject a treaty when it was "not playing the game" to exercise it.

Perhaps these sentences overstate the case. They are an attempt to put into words feelings which are usually repressed, and remain dormant as a sort of vague resentment. We should not have mentioned them, if they had not been to some extent revived by the Ethiopian crisis. In facing practical issues American policy has to be accepted as a fact, and Canadian policy has to be framed after taking account of it. A certain isolationism may be forced on Canada. But, in conversation, things which it seems futile to write are often said, and quite wrong impressions might be drawn from the reticence of Canadian publicists, if this under-current of opinion passed unmentioned.

Before abandoning the perilous enterprise of making opinions appear more logical and intellectual than there is good reason to suppose that they really are, one further step must be taken. As long as the United States is dominantly isolationist and prefers neutrality to a collective peace system, every link which binds Canada to the British Commonwealth, and every link which binds her to the League of Nations, strengthens trends of opinion which look on the United States as an obstacle to achieving world peace through collective action. As we have seen, this does not mean that Canadians doubt the American desire for world peace. It means that there is a difference of opinion as to how world peace should be sought and that the method to which Canada has committed herself assumes the possibility of a coöperation that the United States, in pursuit of her method, cannot accord. Thus the highest motives and the sincerest idealism may lead the *élite* of the two peoples in opposite directions; and the masses, influenced by less exalted considerations, may be quick to perceive the divergence.

The American world-outlook frequently appears to Canadians insular and selfish, although in many respects there is a striking similarity between it and their own. In the same way there is a distrust of American political and legal institutions, and yet recognition of a basic similarity between them and those which obtain in

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Canada. In both cases, as in that of cultural relations, the similarities and the points of contact are so overwhelmingly evident as to conceal from a distant observer the differences of detail. Those near at hand are apt to take the similarities for granted and, except in formal pronouncements, to concentrate their attention on the differences. It is very natural and very human that this should be so, especially in the smaller and weaker country. It is impossible that Canadians should not wish for a world order in which they could form part of a bloc of states, no matter how large and no matter how small, directed by the cordial coöperation of Great Britain and America. Americans do not appear to share this wish today and it is not at all evident that they need ever share it. But Canadians always hope that they will, and, like other observers of world affairs, Canadians succumb at times to the temptation to count as real and potent the forces which sway opinions and attitudes in the direction which their own judgment favors.

It is not possible to consider the world-outlook of either Canada or the United States as fixed and permanent. In the United States historical traditions, including revolutionary traditions, emphasize the isolationist tendencies; in Canada historical traditions and bonds of sentiment and policy tend to weaken them. Isolation, which for Americans means reliance on their own strength, is more attractive to them than an isolationism which means dependence on the United States is likely to be to Canadians. These *imponderabilia* have, for the moment at least, given the decision to isolationism in the United States and against isolationism in Canada. In neither country is the decision final and it is not impossible that the differences between their world-outlooks may eventually disappear. Nothing is easier than to imagine events that would make both nations incorrigibly North American, or events which would make them both ardent supporters of a holy alliance of democratic states standing as an island of armed neutrals in a wicked world. Yet neither state of affairs could safely be regarded as reasonably permanent.

While it is easy to imagine possible futures, the real future is not easy to predict; for although the forces which tend to assimilate to one another the two nations of North America are powerful, so, too, in their way, are the forces which tend, in the long run, to unite

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the peoples of the world. And in both cases the immediate obstacles to unity are as evident as the forces which promote it. The most confident of inspired historians could hardly hope to raise the curtain behind which lie the events that will determine whether North Americanism engulfs Canada before world-wide political and economic organization embraces both Canada and the United States in a unity which shall transcend the continents and make national sovereignties a thing of the past. Such conjectures go far beyond the purpose of this book, for in the meantime nations, like mortal men, live as if they were destined to live for ever.

PART II

THE FORMATION OF OPINION

CHAPTER I

CANADA AND THE CANADIAN PEOPLE

As a geographical unit Canada is known to every one who looks at maps; as a political entity Canada has, in the course of her brief history, played a distinctive part in world affairs; as a group of people with unified opinions and outlook Canada does not exist. While the population of Canada is not large—the census of 1931 records it as 10,376,786—it is extremely diversified and cannot fairly be compared with other North American groups of roughly equal numbers, such as the population of either New England or the Pacific Coast States (8,200,000) or the American Negro population (12,000,000). A diversification which was at first a result of differences in racial origins and cultural background tends to become more and more closely associated with regional or sectional influences which blur the earlier differences in the case of mixed communities, or intensify them in the case of communities large enough to retain their distinctive peculiarities. It has, therefore, seemed expedient to divide our study of Canadian opinion on territorial lines.

I. *The Maritime Provinces.* (By H. L. Stewart.)

The first of the divisions which we have to consider consists of the three Maritime Provinces, whose combined population in 1931 slightly exceeded 1,000,000. On the basis of racial origins the census of that year traces upwards of 721,000 to the British Isles, more than 206,000 to France and nearly 30,000 to Germany. The next largest racial group comprises 8,000 Negroes. Racial origins do not indicate direct migration, and the ancestors of many of the present population of these provinces escaped as United Empire Loyalists from political persecution in the United States.

The Provinces on Canada's eastern seaboard are often described as more British than the rest, specially tenacious of "old country" institutions and usages, less susceptible to influence from their great southern neighbor. Not a city in Nova Scotia, in New Brunswick or in Prince Edward Island has been "Americanized," after the fashion so obvious in the West and conspicuous even in the

cities of Central Canada[1]. English visitors finding themselves perfectly at home in Halifax, in Charlottetown or in St. John speak of the sudden impact of alien modes of life as they travel westward.

Yet these Maritime Provinces have bonds of connection with at least the New England States, which might naturally be expected to grow stronger with the passage of time, and even to overcome the prejudices of nationality. Other considerations being equal, or approximately equal, political kinship will commonly yield in the end to geographical convenience and economic advantage. The densely peopled New England States supplied the obvious market, close at hand, with easy transit by sea, for the products of the Maritime Provinces, and the record of increasing discontent in Eastern Canada, ever since Confederation stopped its flow of commerce north and south, has gone to show how delusive were the pledges that the Federal Government would make it flow, instead, east and west. For the fisherman of Nova Scotia, for the farmer of Prince Edward Island, for the lumberman of New Brunswick, Nature dictated, and statutes could not alter, the policy that their goods should be offered first to the American buyer. The immense railroad haul, over areas sparsely populated, to the markets of Central Canada involved freight charges which would make the ultimate price prohibitive. This difficulty has been, from time to time, in a measure met, through railway concessions extorted by Maritime Members of Parliament from reluctant Federal Ministers, especially at times when a general election was at hand and its prospects were precarious. But from the nature of the case the difficulty cannot be altogether overcome; and even if it were, the further obstacle would remain, that Central Canada is already supplied at home in more than sufficient quantities with most of the products that the East has to offer.

So strongly has this been felt that, from time to time even yet, one hears in Nova Scotia a proposal to "secede from Confederation," in order that the Province may once again have freedom to negotiate, apart from the constraint of a tariff policy framed to suit the advantages of manufacturers in Ontario and Quebec. Although not practical politics, now that nearly seventy years of Confederation

1. In the Maritime Provinces, Central Canada always includes Ontario and south-west Quebec.

have consolidated so many new interests, this proposal (specially urged in certain quarters only ten years ago) is suggestive of a very strong feeling in which the attractions of New England and a sense of grievance against Central Canada are blended. As in 1911, when a scheme for trade reciprocity with the United States was the election issue, it is subtly urged by the representatives of Central Canadian industrialism that any impairment of the profits of Ontario or Quebec mills would be "unfaithful to the British connection," but—for some undisclosed reason—the British connection is not held to suffer by a tariff which makes it impossible to sell Maritime products in the only market really open to them. It was in Nova Scotia that the secession proposals of a few years back had most notice in the press, but a similar sentiment was not without strength in Prince Edward Island. Speaking of the relation of Prince Edward Islanders to the United States, the head of its largest school says: "Easy communication by correspondence or travel tends to obliterate national boundaries, and rather to erect them against Central Canada, which is more and more considered the overbearing, self-seeking sister province (*sic*)."

A like significance belongs to the fierce agitation, initiated in 1923, to secure what were called "Maritime Rights." It proved so effective as to unseat many Members of Parliament representing Maritime constituencies, and to obscure all other campaign issues when compared with the demand for more faithful fulfilment of the pledges given to the east at Confederation. There is considerable dispute as to the extent to which this complaint of infidelity to pledges can be substantiated, and also regarding the truth of the statement that Confederation was the chief cause of the decline which befell the Maritime Provinces soon afterwards. Much reason can be adduced to show that the remarkable prosperity of the east during the years just before 1867 was due to artificial and temporary causes, which would in any event before long have ceased to act. There is likewise room for latitude of legal interpretation regarding the actual commitments of those who negotiated on behalf of Ontario and Quebec with the Maritime leaders nearly seventy years ago. But our concern here is not to examine economic argument nor to balance legal opinions; it is to trace the growth of popular moods and tendencies. Beyond doubt, then, whether reasonably or

unreasonably, the slow advance and even occasional retrogression of Eastern Canada, as compared with the rapid progress of the Central and Western Provinces, is explained by very many of its people as due to the unequal alliance of 1867. The cynical phrase of an Ontario leader, about the Maritimes constituting "the shreds and patches of Confederation," has been taken with at least some plausibility to reveal the Central Canadian mind, and the last ten years have seen effort after effort by both Federal parties to placate Maritime resentment (incidentally, to gain at each other's expense) by more generous concession of Maritime claims. The Duncan Commission of 1925 was followed by yet another Federal Commission (the White Commission, 1934) to investigate how much of Eastern Canada's well-known grievance against Ottawa is founded on real fact. An Economic Inquiry, too, has just been completed (1934), under the direction of the Government of Nova Scotia, by an English economist of high repute, to discover wherein previous diagnoses of Nova Scotia's financial hardship have been inadequate. Just in so far as dissatisfaction with Federal policy and resentment at alleged "exploitation" are thus quickened, there is more welcome for the idea of the New England States as "our natural friends."

Still another influence has operated powerfully. The Maritime Provinces not having shared in the immense development of other parts of Canada, their more ambitious men have sought an outlet elsewhere, and there was thus—in the long years before a quota upon immigrants—a steady stream of Nova Scotian, New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island settlers making for themselves American homes. The last returns show that in 1930 no fewer than 1,278,421 persons born in Canada were living in the United States. A very substantial number of these are of Maritime birth. There is a widespread, and probably a well-grounded, conviction that more persons of Nova Scotian descent are now living in the State of Massachusetts than in the whole Province of Nova Scotia, and there is scarcely a family in Prince Edward Island that has not at least one member resident in the United States.

An important factor in the development of this friendship has been the annual passage of tourists to and fro. It is reliably estimated that "in a normal year" about 220,000 visitors from the United States came to Nova Scotia, 200,000 to New Brunswick, and 10,000

to Prince Edward Island. For nearly fifty years regular steamship service between Boston and the Maritime Provinces has supplemented the rail transport, and besides the business travel (including considerable interchange of schoolteachers, a specially significant influence, altogether disproportionate to the numbers involved) there is a steady flow each summer of Americans seeking relief from the excessive heat of their own cities. Thus these Provinces have become in no small degree an American holiday resort, and an increasing number of such visitors of the wealthier class maintain summer residences there. They find the climate excellent, the fishing and hunting opportunities attractive. A large percentage of those who come each year are Canadians returning for a holiday to their native land, or sons and daughters of Canadians coming on a visit to relatives. Many American tourists are drawn by interest in such historic spots as Fort Anne at Annapolis Royal, the Louisbourg Fortress in Cape Breton, Fort Beausejour near Amherst, and Grand Pré Memorial Park—the scene of *Evangeline*. It is to be noted that, reciprocally, an appreciable—probably an increasing—number of Maritime Province people who can afford to do so spend their winters in Florida or California.

Such causes, of permanent character, promoting good fellowship were powerfully reinforced and accelerated in their action by one outstanding event during the Great War. So far at least as Nova Scotia was concerned, an outburst of appreciative good will was bound to follow upon American kindness in the years after the great Explosion at Halifax on December 6, 1917. It was not just a single kindly act, it was systematic and persevering help which was then inaugurated. It was a time of sudden destitution for many of the poor whose homes had become uninhabitable in mid-winter, and a vivid memory still lives of the ship-loads of building material, clothing and food which New England thoughtfulness at once dispatched. The people of Massachusetts contributed $750,000 towards "emergency relief"; when two-thirds of this sum had been expended on restoring wholly or partially 1,800 ruined families, the Canadian Government took charge of the situation, and the Massachusetts Committee determined to devote its unexpended balance to the improvement of general health conditions in the city. A preliminary survey by an expert of the Rockefeller Foundation

discovered that the consequences of the Explosion had been greatly intensified by lamentable preëxisting defects in public hygiene. During nine years, at an outlay of $250,000, the Massachusetts-Halifax Health Commission conducted Health Centers, sent out Traveling Clinics with full medical, dental and nursing staffs over the Province, maintained temporary operating wards at emergency places, studied and reported on problems of water supply, drainage, and much more. This was an object lesson in international service, as conspicuous for its efficiency as for its generosity, which Nova Scotians do not forget.

II. *The Province of Quebec.*

The second division of Canada is the Province of Quebec, whose population in 1931 was 2,874,255. By racial origin 2,270,059 were French and 432,726 British. The next largest group, which numbers over 60,000, is designated in the census as Hebrew. Roughly 25,000 were of Italian, 10,000 of German, and 10,000 of Polish, descent. These figures bring us face to face with at least three situations of the greatest importance in conditioning opinion. We are in the heart of French Canada; we find a substantial English-speaking minority which feels itself on the defensive; and we find a growing Hebrew element which acts as a disturbing influence on both French and English.

Then, too, we are entering industrial Canada. The Province of Quebec ranks a very close second to Ontario in respect of the proportion of the population living in localities with more than 1,000 inhabitants. Indeed, on the old method of reckoning, which was not strictly comparable as between Provinces, it was Quebec which had the higher percentage of its population classed as "urban."

(i) *French Canada.* (By Edouard Montpetit.)

The French-Canadians, who form eighty per cent of the population of Quebec, are a racial entity with strongly-marked characteristics of their own. They have preserved their character by perpetuating themselves in the *milieu* where their ancestors were left by France in 1760, and they have done so without any reinforcement from the outside.

For a long time the Province remained chiefly agricultural.

During the past twenty years, however, owing to the spread of industry, the urban population has surpassed that of the country districts, if we can accept without hesitation the method of computation utilized by the compilers of official statistics. The most remarkable demographical fact is the concentration in Montreal and its ever-expanding suburbs of nearly one-half of the total inhabitants of the Province! While Montreal has become the second French city of the world, the other urban centers—Quebec excepted—still maintain a certain rural character. The problems of daily life are therefore somewhat different in city, town, and countryside.

The French of Canada are nearly all native-born Canadians. They have been brought up in their own country and express in their actions as well as in themselves the up-bringing which is their very own. The great majority of them remain at home and educate their children in the schools of the Province. Some few of the upper class seek education elsewhere, chiefly in France.

This "race" (as they love to call themselves) possesses a cultural heritage in Canada which is over three centuries old. Its roots, therefore, lie very deep. Its members treasure their religion, their language, their customs, their type of family life and the other folk-ways which are their own; and they wish to keep them. In this respect, they remind one very strongly of the Celtic elements in the British Isles. Their minds, however, are not closed to the modern progress which encircles them. They are conscious of the need to adapt themselves to it in many ways. But their prime interests are Canadian and they are affected by external events only in so far as these events impinge upon their lives from the outside.

The feeling of the French-Canadians towards the United States is certainly friendly. Nevertheless, consciously or unconsciously, it contains certain restrictive elements arising from tradition, and shows itself sometimes in attitudes which are defensive. Not unnaturally so; for according to the logic of events—and they inherit the French gift for logic and clear-cut distinctions—French-Canadians have, as an ethnical entity, resisted Anglo-Saxon absorption over a long period of time. The "melting-pot" to them, therefore, is a danger. The civilization of the United States, based on Anglo-Saxon elements, and English in its language, presses upon them in a thousand ways. It is sensed by them as an invasion of their cultural

domain, for it appears to threaten their very existence. They are conscious of its wide extent on this hemisphere; they realize its wealth and influence; they appreciate its spirit of progress. Yet, of course, it clashes at too many points with their ideas and ideals to be adopted as a norm of life.

This does not mean that on the American continent the French-Canadian is merely a "secessionist" who wishes to rule himself out of the common life. There are, and have been, French-Canadians who dream of independence. But the vast majority accept the Dominion of Canada as it is. They have every intention of aiding whole-heartedly in its up-building and expansion; at the same time they wish their contribution to be that which reveals the special qualities which they owe to their origins. In this they rest upon that formula of "unity in diversity" which is certainly, in an increasing degree, the hall-mark of the British Commonwealth of Nations.

They realize, too, that they live in America. But sooner or later they instinctively react to American infiltrations either by contriving means of protection and defense or by utilizing the inventions—such as the radio—which advertising and commercial enterprise have made available. Numerically they form nearly one-third of Canada; but nevertheless they are surrounded by a vastly larger English-speaking population.

With the progress of time, Quebec has built up a veritable hierarchy of instruction. It is French in type, for its roots lie in France of the old régime. It has, none the less, points of intimate contact with, for example, the great Catholic educators of modern France, and also with French culture generally. There is, for instance, a constant interchange of lecturers at university centers.

There is little that is American about a French-Canadian primary school, unless it be in a town or city where a citizen of the United States would recognize the type of architecture or some of the furnishings and equipment. A "Council of Public Instruction" formulates the programs and compiles the regulations; approves and recommends textbooks; superintends the local School Commissions and generally keeps an eye on the elementary school life of the Province. In the secondary schools, general culture is definitely the basis of instruction. They cultivate the old "humanities," that is

to say, their curriculum gives the first place to Latin and Greek, although they do not neglect mathematics and science. Latin and Greek are fostered also for a particular reason—they are necessary instruments for a sound learning of French. Some of the secondary teachers borrow from American methods, in which case, however, they use them within a special framework which is left undisturbed.

The atmosphere of French-Canadian primary and secondary schools is Catholic and French, and if any American influence exists it is due to outside infiltrations. The history and geography of the United States are studied, but principally as they relate to Canada and Canadian life.

In the professional schools and universities the situation is different. Here a new element enters, for we are face to face with the question of training for life and for a career. In theology, philosophy, law, or letters one hardly expects American influences, and as a matter of fact they scarcely exist. But in science, medicine, dentistry, pharmacy, civil engineering, commerce, agriculture, sociology, and technical training, properly so called, American methods are well known and widely used and, in fact, are often preferred to European ones. Yet even here, it is a question of *adaptation:* American methods are adopted and in the process of teaching adapted to French-Canadian needs.

This attitude in professional training for life on the American continent is a useful example of just how the French-Canadian reacts to American influences in their wider aspects. What, then, are the general opinions and attitudes of the French of Canada towards things American? There is no single answer to this question. It depends largely on whether one speaks of the "mass" or the "*élite.*"

The mass of the people has no considered opinion on such a subject, because it is not accustomed to analyze its thoughts before formulating them. It moves by instinct, especially when some outside fact impinges on its consciousness. Its reactions therefore are piecemeal; they are not harmonized into fixed principles or rules of behavior. We might put it in this way, that in their case public opinion consists of a number of scattered sentiments which light up in face of some specific reality, but rarely crystallize into the ponderable. For the common people of Quebec, as elsewhere, have

little time to think before action. Their lives are a round of work with brief moments of leisure. They are not insensible of all that lies at the base of their traditions and inheritance, and when, on occasion, these things become very vivid the people reveal themselves as being what they are ethnically in mentality and sentiment. In the cities, for example, where working folk are numerous their existence as a group is easily recognized and has to be considered in every department of urban life. In the country districts there is, of course, added to this the clinging to old customs and folk-ways which are so woven into the fabric of daily existence that their preservation becomes a habit. There is, therefore, a stability and settledness about the moral life of the Province.

In the towns and cities one has, in addition, to take into consideration the French-language press, which is a more notable factor in Canadian journalism in the wide sense than many Americans perhaps realize. The French daily papers of Canada rarely express any general opinion on American affairs; yet their news columns are crowded with "syndicated" items of interest from all parts of the American continent. In this sense, therefore, the average French-Canadian whose environment is urban is well informed on United States topics.

The *élite*, on the other hand, is in a position to have general ideas on the American type of civilization; yet it, too, appears to be conscious mainly of the particular aspects with which it is in contact. When such people compare things in the United States with things Canadian, they do so on well-defined aspects of the case and not because they have made any deep comparative study of likenesses and differences. Even those who raise the debate at times to the higher ground of principles, or who wish to discuss things on a doctrinal basis, use as examples those specific things which please or repel them. At the same time, by collecting and arranging a multitude of opinions both on the part of the *élite* and the mass, one may arrive at a "doctrine" which can be formulated. It has this about it, at any rate, to intrigue the sincere inquirer into social conditions on the North American continent—namely, that it is unique. It extols loyalty to traditions—and these are rooted, deep and old. They have been preserved with passionate tenacity. It appears on many an occasion to run counter to the generally received

opinions of American life in the wider sense. It seems often to be on the defensive. But it is not attacking that which is outside, that which rings it around and appears to enclose it in a circle; it is defending its own.

There are, of course, partial manifestations which call for comment. Such are the groups impregnated with what is called "*nationalisme.*" They exist in varied forms; they are more or less extended among the people, more or less active. Yet it is to be noted that while they busy themselves with political matters, they are far more interested in social problems and in cultural endowments, also in the preservation of folk-ways.

Partisans of nationalism have possibly a greater fear of American influence than of English influence, because the French-Canadians have proved their ability to cope on their own ground with the latter, whereas they often feel defenseless against the former. Geographical proximity forms the principal factor in American infiltrations which make their way rapidly into the daily lives of the people. To this geographical factor the partisans of nationalism oppose the historical factor—traditionalism—which is practically their only defensive weapon. It is for this reason that they deplore the wide sale of American newspapers and magazines, and in particular of those of a sensational character. They adopt the same attitude to the American cinema. They are opposed to those "modern" influences which seem to them of doubtful morality and strike especially at home life. They are opposed to birth control, to free and easy behavior in public life, and to the "letting down of barriers" in certain directions. They are opposed to divorce, to habits of luxury and prodigality, to the avid search for wealth as an end in itself, and to the assaults of foreign capital on the stability of the race that has for so long lived its own life in its own way. They recognize that in this modern age these dangers permeate easily even into country districts.

A second group participates much more in purely cultural activities and may usefully be compared with a similar group which has flourished for so long in Ireland. As in that country, it comprises nationalists among its adherents, but it also includes many others. These French-Canadians are deeply sensible of their French origins. They look to France—culturally, not politically—as their fount of

inspiration. They are interested in French literature and art. Their conviction is that in order to preserve on the American continent the peculiar heritage of their ethnical group they must strengthen their group-existence by contact with French civilization lest it languish and possibly perish. It is not, therefore, surprising that in passing judgment on things American they borrow something in expression from the prevailing French sentiment of the hour, with which they are in constant touch. They seize upon those "dangers of the day" which are seen to burrow into the roots of French culture and civilization in France, and are greatly concerned because they realize that their close proximity to the United States calls for even more vigilance on the part of French-Canadians. They are inclined to blame Americans not so much for what they know as "*machinisme*" but because of the esteem in which a mechanistic view of life is thought to be held by our neighbors to the south. They are opposed to standardization because it tends to the destruction of personality. They uphold and fight for French cultural ideals and deplore the lack in many departments of American life of what these ideals represent. They are not impressed by what they euphemistically call the "civic morals" of certain American cities. They deplore the constant search for artificial solutions and temporary expedients in economic and social life. They dislike the substitution of a culture essentially practical—if not actually materialistic—for the speculations of the mind, the exaltation of principles, the fruits of artistry and imagination!

A third group of *élite* consists of professional men, business men, or merchants, who are not much interested in academic discussions or likely to be enthusiastic followers of some social theory. Their lives are practical; they base their opinions on daily experience; they are engaged in making a living. Such men are favorable to American methods, for they make practical use of some of them. Some are also naturally inclined to prefer American things and American ways. They show, therefore, a preference in those directions.

These three groups overlap; they are not clear-cut divisions. They have basic points of resemblance, and many surface differences.

Taking the French-Canadian people as a whole, one must candidly admit that in many ways they have become Americanized, not

altogether willingly. Nor is it easy to adduce from an examination of the whole a typical attitude to many specific aspects of American life. The term "Americanization" has different connotations for different people. Not only so, but one person may reasonably hold two different opinions on the subject, according to the particular case he is studying. Those, for instance, who somewhat freely reprove American "materialism" are nevertheless greatly impressed by such things as Fourth of July demonstrations—they note in them signs of the American soul. Others, again, agree with Americans in condemning kidnaping and "gangster" activities; and they look with admiration and honest envy on the many palatial universities and seats of learning in the United States and in particular on its large temples of science. The truth is that Americanism to the French-Canadian is what the tongue was to Æsop, the fabulist, that is, good and bad at the same time. In what he holds to be bad, it shocks his susceptibilities; in what seems to him good, its place on the American continent is not to be questioned. But for his own purposes he would naturally like to leaven it with French influences; and as such influences are usually a sort of discipline, his idea may not be incapable of practical application to American life.

With regard to particular attitudes it must be emphasized that they are not to be interpreted as necessarily the outcome of opinions.

In politics, for example, the French-Canadian leaves the question of tariff barriers to the politicians and the question of neutrality to the statesmen. On the other hand, trusts and combines and the influx of foreign capital greatly disturb him, for they appear to strike at his patrimony. At election times this feeling has become eloquent. In the economic field "buy home products" has become a slogan; resistance to foreign competition has been organized. In opposition to associations and especially to trades unions governed from outside, Quebec has organized unions and societies of its own. The French-Canadian press may be, as stated above, "Americanized" in certain respects, but it is not wholly so. In certain circumstances, it is capable of speaking on behalf of the people as an ethnic group. In Montreal, especially, the French cinema has already won success in a highly competitive and well-organized field. The French language is frequently heard on the radio, and is carried far beyond the confines of the Province whence it operates. There

has arisen of recent years a domestic decorative art which shows an interesting awakening. "*Tourisme,*" of course, touches Quebec very closely. She has plenty to show that is unique on this continent and has special attractions for those who like to come and look at the old. But it is significant that she advertises her special wares as expressing the French *physiognomie,* of which the tourist from the south is urged to take note.

Such, in the main, is the "attitude" of the French-Canadians to the United States. It is in the Province of Quebec that one naturally looks for it, and certainly finds it. But it should not be forgotten that the French-Canadian has spread himself right across Canada. There are groups or pockets outside Quebec which are worthy of consideration. Such groups—especially the smaller ones—have doubtless complications arising from distance and isolation which Quebec has not to meet. At the same time, the writer believes their basic attitude would be in every case that which he has here tried to explain.

(ii) *The English-Speaking Minority.* (By S. Delbert Clark.)

In the English-speaking section of Quebec we find a situation strikingly different from that in other parts of Canada. As a minority within the Province the English group seeks support from English-speaking groups outside. Yet economically and territorially it is inextricably associated with its French-speaking neighbors. It is thus forced to occupy a curious position midway between French-speaking and English-speaking Canada. It is not itself a homogeneous group, but falls naturally into fairly distinctive subgroups. First, there are the native English-speaking Canadians of Montreal, with English, Scottish, Irish or American backgrounds. They are the people for whom McGill University, the Montreal *Gazette,* and Mr. Cahan stand as symbols. They, in turn, can be subdivided on lines of both occupation and sentiment. The Irish, for instance, because they are predominantly Catholic, form a unique group, which is not closely united either with French-speaking Catholics or with English-speaking Protestants, and which seeks support by associating itself with the large Irish Catholic population of the United States. It finds in the Knights of Columbus, an American organiza-

tion avoided to a large extent by French-Canadians, a significant medium of expression.

Secondly, the more recent British immigrants in Montreal, who come chiefly from England, compose a separate group. They have settled in Verdun and other parts of the metropolitan area where rents are low. As they are almost all skilled or unskilled workmen, they have not been readily assimilated by their Canadian neighbors. Their interests lie largely in the English labor movement, and they are in close sympathy with English trade-unionism and the Labour party. They are not imbued with Canadian national consciousness and are therefore likely to be either ardent British Imperialists or, what is less frequent, pro-American. For, if they feel that closer Imperial unity is impossible, they turn to union with the United States as the logical alternative.

A third important English-speaking group is Jewish. This group, also, finds itself excluded both from the French-speaking Catholic and the English-speaking Protestant communities, and is not welcomed by the Irish Catholics. It naturally turns for support and leadership to the large Jewish population of New York with which its social contacts are very intimate. Economically its members have penetrated in Montreal into the occupations traditionally reserved for French-speaking Canadians as well as into those occupations normally followed by the English. They have thus invaded the precincts of French Montreal; and the Jewish drug-store with a French name and French-speaking, though Jewish, clerks has become a familiar sight. Thus, in a way, they provide a bridge between the two large national groups, though they are disliked by both and for many purposes form a group apart, with cosmopolitan associations and a distinctly American leaning.

A fourth important English-speaking community is found outside Montreal in the Eastern Townships. It is situated in close proximity to the United States and feels itself threatened by the invasion of the French-Canadians, against which it seeks refuge, sometimes in British loyalty, sometimes in Americanism.

III. *The Province of Ontario.* (By Alexander Brady.)

The third great division of Canada is the Province of Ontario. The population, according to the 1931 census, is 3,431,683. Of this

number 2,539,771 are shown as British in racial origin (1,319,612 being English, 647,831 Irish and 549,648 Scotch). The French number nearly 300,000. There are some 174,000 Germans, 62,000 Jews and 60,000 Dutch. Italians and Poles come next in numerical strength. No other people is present in considerable numbers. More than 2,000,000 of the population can be classed as urban.

Three basic facts have profoundly influenced the relations between Ontario and the United States. Foremost among them is geographical contiguity. The earliest settled, the most densely populated, and industrially the most important portion of Ontario, that extending roughly south of the forty-fifth parallel of latitude but including the fertile stretches of the valley of the Ottawa, is a triangular territory thrust deeply into a highly industrialized and closely populated region of the United States, separated only by rivers or the readily navigated lakes of the St. Lawrence system. Here is a part of Canada obviously accessible by nature to numerous American contacts and influences. It was natural that at the beginning of the nineteenth century this region, of which the southern part is richly endowed with fertile soil and made accessible by water transport, should be viewed as a "frontier" of the State of New York. Hither came in search of land not merely United Empire Loyalists, but even more numerous post-Loyalist immigrants. It was estimated that in 1813 less than twenty per cent of the population were natives of the British Islands and their children, while eighty per cent were of American birth and three-quarters of these were non-Loyalists[2].

This situation in due time changed. Migration from the United States was checked by a series of developments: the War of 1812–1814[3], the opening of the American Middle West, the coming of the railways which rapidly and vastly extended the frontier within the United States. While British instead of American immigrants came, yet Ontario did not cease with the passage of years to be

2. Duncan McArthur, in *Cambridge History of the British Empire* (Cambridge, 1930), VI, 207. *See* also comments of A. L. Burt, *The Old Province of Quebec* Toronto, 1933), pp. 360 ff.

3. The Imperial Government discouraged American immigration after the war. *See* A. R. M. Lower, "Immigration and Settlement in Canada, 1812–1820," *Canadian Historical Review*, March, 1922, 37 ff.

broadly a frontier of the northern United States; a territory separated by a political boundary, but so contiguous as to be subjected to the varied influences of the great metropolitan areas which grew up across the boundary; accessible to newspapers, periodicals, commercial travelers, motorists on week-end trips, friendly Rotarians and Kiwanis crossing from Buffalo to Toronto for periodic luncheons, and countless other contacts whose social significance it is impossible to measure accurately, but which at least indicate an almost unique intimacy of relations between the inhabitants of two independent states. Other settled portions of Canada may be equally contiguous to neighboring portions of the United States, but southern Ontario has the distinction of being next door to densely populated cities, New York is no more than a night's journey by rail, Detroit is on the border, and Chicago is virtually so. Hence Ontario is exposed to the immediate impact of metropolitan life in a concentrated form. Its own rapid growth in the twentieth century tends to make it increasingly receptive of urban patterns from across the border.

A second fundamental fact influential on cultural borrowings, more especially in the nineteenth century, has been the essential similarity of race and remote tradition on both sides of the frontier. The dominant strain was of British extraction, endowed with the traditions and attitudes towards life of British and New England Puritanism and all that these meant in religious, political and social activity. The significance of this similarity in stock and basic culture is evident when we compare Ontario with Quebec, and observe the relatively slight cultural borrowings of the French in the nineteenth century. They were influenced less by the United States because they had less in common at the outset. But in the twentieth century the racial composition of the urban population in the northern states and that in the cities of Ontario has come to diverge, owing to the fact that in the latter half of the nineteenth century the large urban centers of the United States received from continental Europe multitudes of immigrants, while the towns of Ontario on the whole continued to attract British, most of the mid-European migrants to Canada passing west to the prairies. Of additional importance is the movement of the Negroes, especially since 1910, into the cities of the northern states, introducing a color cleavage with its pervasive social frictions, which are virtually

absent in Ontario, where the Negroes have remained an insignificant minority.[4] These divergences in racial composition have tended to make many Ontarians feel distinct from their neighbors. They partly explain some of the subtler differences which the casual visitor observes in proceeding from Toronto to Buffalo. But the different racial amalgam of modern American cities only slightly modifies the intimacy of relations between the two peoples, an intimacy created by contiguity and the original similarity in racial and cultural tradition.

A third basic factor affecting the relations of Ontario with the United States is the physiography of the Province. The area of greatest population and industry is the rich agricultural lowlands of the St. Lawrence basin, the cultivable plains whose character was determined by the Ice Ages and the drainage system of the St. Lawrence. To the north lies the Pre-Cambrian Shield, which has always been to the agricultural settler an inhospitable wilderness of lakes, forest, and rock, and whose vast mineral wealth was neither exploited nor even realized in the early nineteenth century. Until the completion of the Canadian Pacific Railway the settled portion of Ontario was thus hemmed in on the east by the French, on the north by the Pre-Cambrian Shield, and on the south and west by the United States. In this circumscribed area the land available for agriculture on the American plan of large family farms was limited. By the 'fifties the good soils south of the counties of Bruce and Grey were under cultivation, and by the 'seventies the expansible agrarian frontier of Ontario had virtually disappeared. Immigrants or others seeking virgin land had either to attempt the almost impossible task of making farms from the scanty soil on Pre-Cambrian rock or to migrate to the frontier of the American west.[5] Naturally the larger number chose this latter alternative. Since this barrier to expansion affected not merely agriculture but the industries of the towns, townsmen as well as farmers crossed the frontier, and the constant seepage of population to the United

4. *Recent Social Trends in the United States* (New York, 1933), p. 566.

5. On the attempts at settlement within the Shield, *see* A. R. M. Lower, "The Assault on the Laurentian Barrier," *Canadian Historical Review*, December, 1929, pp. 294 ff.

States continued, with enormous cumulative results, to the end of the nineteenth century.

The full social effects of this loss of population are difficult to define precisely, but it is clear that the extensive movement of native Ontarians to American cities and farms increased personal intercourse across the frontier and extended those subtler cultural exchanges, the significance of which is real although not readily assessable. Countless families on the farms and in the towns of Ontario were undoubtedly made familiar with ideas and things American by the members who had migrated. The distance separating the emigrant from his former home was rarely great enough to sever all connections, or to prevent his return on periodic visits; indeed many emigrants came back to settle permanently in their native Province. But the emigration had a numbing effect on the community consciousness of those who remained behind. To lack an expansible frontier, and to suffer a heavy drainage of the native-born, were experiences not likely to sustain a vigorous communal pride, and the contention of Goldwin Smith on the inevitability of annexation by the Republic was at least explicable in the circumstances of the time, however erroneous it has proved, or however unpleasant it might appear to some of Smith's contemporaries. Many in the 'seventies and 'eighties in Ontario must have been thinking what Goldwin Smith put into words.

But the bridging of the Pre-Cambrian Shield by the Canadian Pacific Railway, combined with the discovery and exploitation of its resources, radically changed the situation. The development of the prairies and the mineral resources of the Shield opened a new horizon to the people of Ontario; they could now look to the west and north rather than to the south. The flow of genuine emigrants across the border lessened; provincial pride grew stronger; and new attitudes towards the United States took form. We may postpone to a future page (*see* p. 48) the nature of these attitudes. It is sufficient in these introductory remarks to emphasize that the Pre-Cambrian Shield had a fashioning influence on the thinking of Ontarians in relation to the United States, both before and after this region was transformed by the railways.

The industrial expansion in the twentieth century, involving concentration of population in cities and towns and the rise of a

middle class with a high standard of living, has facilitated the transfer of cultural patterns from American cities to Ontario. Since the United States set the pace in industrialism, Ontario has necessarily had to borrow liberally from her not merely capital and technology but skilled men. Under the influence of the National Policy, branch plants of American firms have concentrated in Ontario on a larger scale than in any other province of the Dominion, owing mainly to the contiguity of Pennsylvanian coal, the existence of abundant water power, and the presence of adequate labor supplies. Through these plants, productive technique is transferred from the larger proving field of the United States to Canada. Often industrial enterprises in Ontario are little more than an extension of American plants; notably is this so in the Border Cities, opposite to the metropolitan area of Detroit. Here the automotive industry extended its plants from Detroit to the Canadian side of the border, and a large portion of the considerable international trade at this point is no more than a trans-border movement of semi-finished commodities from parent factories to branch factories. Naturally at the same point the migration movement back and forth across the border attains an exceptional magnitude.[6]

When chain stores were rapidly developed in the United States, it was not long until they appeared in Ontario, with similar methods altered only as local conditions dictated.[7] Methods of instalment buying on one side of the frontier were soon transmitted to the other. Techniques of management in the department stores of Toronto are influenced by what is done in New York, Chicago, and Philadelphia. There is not necessarily slavish copying; there is merely acceptance of methods which have undergone an extensive test, and not uncommonly experience in a Toronto store proves valuable to managers in American stores. The manager of one large departmental store in Toronto, however, remarked to the writer that

6. *See* R. W. French, "Border City Industries Studied at First Hand," *Financial Post*, Toronto, January 12, 1935. *See* also for a survey of the whole subject, *Canadian-American Industry*, by H. Marshall, F. A. Southard and K. W. Taylor (New Haven, 1936).

7. For a description of the development of these stores in Ontario soon after their emergence in the United States, *see Financial Post*, November 7, 1924. *See* also B. T. Huston, "The Chain Store," *Queen's Quarterly*, Spring, 1929, p. 313.

borrowed methods were not invariably successful when applied in Ontario, because of indefinable differences between Canadians and Americans. Ontarians are not, *en masse*, exactly like New Yorkers and Pennsylvanians. But the process of cultural exchange proceeds apace, facilitated by contiguity and the necessarily similar ways of urban life on both sides of the border.

A significant influence, especially in the urban areas, is the large inflow of American periodicals and newspapers (*see* pp. 152-172). No other Province in the Dominion so liberally purchases these publications, and hence presumably the people of no other Province are so subject to their influence.[8] Of the twelve chief American magazines which circulated in Canada in the ten-year period, 1925–1934, over forty per cent of the copies in each year were sold in Ontario. Besides magazines, weekly newspapers enter in hundreds of thousands from near-by cities. Their circulation in Ontario indicates that a portion at least of the population acquires a newspaper taste akin to that of many of their neighbors. But significantly at least one publication in Ontario, the Toronto *Star Weekly*, more than holds its own in circulation, although in the character of its contents it is not identical with similar American newspapers. It places less emphasis on sex and sensational crime; its general tone is more conservatively moral and possibly more naïve. Its stories incline to be romantic, rather than realistic, and its commercial success suggests that its editors gauge the popular taste of Ontarians with fair accuracy.

The American magazines and newspapers have an evident influence in determining the commodity demands of Canadians and their sense of style. Large retailers in Toronto comment on the many customers who will tell about seeing certain goods advertised in American magazines and ask that they be imported. This may be done or similar goods may be manufactured in Canada. In either case a close adherence to American style is preserved.

Owing to contiguity and mutual interest, intercourse between representatives of organized economic groups in Ontario and the neighboring states is continuous, although principally of an informal character, especially in the case of the employer and professional

8. But the circulation of American periodicals is higher in proportion to population in the western provinces. *See* Chapter VIII.

groups. The service clubs, for example, are a perennial means of promoting informal intercourse. The districts into which the Rotary Clubs serving Ontario are grouped ignore the international boundary, and the executive organizations of the district bring together Americans and Canadians in the annual conferences. In addition, inter-city excursions are periodically made between such cities as Toronto and Buffalo. At almost every meeting of the Rotary Club in Toronto, American visitors are presented. One prominent Toronto business man, who had held many executive offices in Rotary, remarked to the writer that in such work he had made warm and lasting friendships with American business men, and he assigned great importance to these relations as a factor in the development of international understanding.

In the field of organized labor, coöperation takes a definite form in the international craft unions, and these institutions, together with the important institutional relations which exist in religious bodies and the interrelations of the two countries in educational institutions, will be dealt with in Chapter III.

From the establishment of Upper Canada, American influence upon the politics of the Province, especially upon municipal government, has been persistent and crucial, though not always evident to the casual observer. The existing municipal institutions of Ontario were originally the product of the insistence of the Loyalist and post-Loyalist immigrants upon at least a modified form of the local government developed in New England.[9] And, at the present day, Ontarian cities watch closely the practices and proceedings in the administration of cities on the other side of the border, and make such adaptations as their rulers think expedient. There is, however, a strong endeavor to avoid, in appearance at least, anything in the nature of direct imitation.

In spite of these sundry influences and contacts, it is a prevalent view in Ontario that Canadian society is different from American, although there is wide diversity of opinion as to things American—a diversity perhaps partly explained by the diversity in individual relationships to the United States, for that of an Anglican is not the same as that of a Baptist, nor that of a Rotarian as that of a non-

9. *See* A. Shortt, "The Beginning of Municipal Governments in Ontario," *Transactions of the Canadian Institute*, VII (Toronto, 1900–1902).

Rotarian. Many persons interviewed in the course of this study were emphatic that Americans on the whole were an irresponsible and erratic people. Others were equally emphatic that Canadians were conservative and timid; Americans, dynamic and creative.[10] But there was certainly no evidence of antagonism; no sign that the United States was viewed as a hereditary enemy.

It has commonly been assumed that the United Empire Loyalists created in Ontario a traditional feeling of anti-Americanism. Such a feeling clearly existed in the early part of the nineteenth century, but is no longer evident. Doubtless it was revealed in the 'nineties in the furor created in Toronto by prominent citizens when the university proposed to confer an honorary degree on Goldwin Smith, who was viewed by some descendants of United Empire Loyalists as more partial to the United States than to either Canada or Great Britain. So loud was the complaint that the ultrasensitive Goldwin Smith declined to offer himself for the degree.[11] But while the Loyalist tradition as a significant force has virtually disappeared, the large population in Ontario of British birth or extraction has tended to fear that the ever present American influence might destroy a sympathy for things British. Hence it is exceptionally vocal in defense of the British connection. The "ultraloyalty of Toronto," for example, is to be explained less by the United Empire Loyalist tradition than by the fact that, of the chief cities in Canada, Toronto has the largest proportion of population of British origin, and that this element has strong organizations, such as the Orange Order and the Sons of England, which are vigorous in upholding their interpretation of British traditions.

But while there is no antagonism there is a strong sense of rivalry which has been emphasized by the exponents of the National Policy from the 'seventies of the last century to the present. In making southern Ontario the center of Canadian manufactures, the tariff has made the urban inhabitants feel that it alone saves their occupations from destruction by the aggressive economic forces across the frontier. Thus towards the United States a definite attitude is inexorably created.

10. *See* chapters XVII and XVIII.

11. The details of the incident are told in R. A. McEachern, *Goldwin Smith*, unpublished thesis in the University of Toronto Library (1934).

While Ontario plays an important part in introducing American influences into Canada and transmitting them to remoter areas, a process which has been extravagantly called "the Americanization of Canada," it no less plays a part in the cultivation of nationality. For its own economic ambition leads it to insist that Canada must be an economic unity (*see* Chapter IX), and its position in Canadian cultural life makes it the function of Ontario to exercise discrimination—good or bad—in importing into Canada American modes of life. It transmits influences but acts as a filter rather than as a mere conduit.

IV. *The Prairie Provinces.*

We come next to the Prairie Provinces of Canada. Settlement has been more recent and less homogeneous than in Eastern and Central Canada. Historical traditions count for less. People are more likely to fix their gaze on the future and to think of themselves as building up new communities in which their children or their children's children will flourish. It is only since the World War that Western Canada has been superseded by Russia as the land whose people are deliberately and enthusiastically living for posterity. But it has been superseded and is perhaps in danger of losing an idealism which is difficult to replace.

(i) *Manitoba.*

The oldest of the three Prairie Provinces, Manitoba, has a population, according to the 1931 census, of 700,193. Only 368,010 are British, and 47,039 French, in racial origin. The chief other races represented are, in order of numerical importance, Ukrainian (73,606), Polish (40,243), German (38,078), Dutch (24,957), Hebrew (19,341), Scandinavian (17,947), Icelandic (13,450), and Russian (11,573). Many of the immigrant groups have reached a second or even a third generation, and, if we use "British" to include "Canadian," we can say that eighty-one per cent of the people of Manitoba are of British birth. This fact goes far to explain why Manitoba seems more British in character than the two Provinces to the west. There are no important districts in which any one foreign race constitutes more than thirty-six per cent of the population.

As will appear in the course of this study, Manitoba is the area

in which the most intensive inquiry has been made into the question of what individual citizens think of the United States. This inquiry disclosed a surprisingly strong element of "dislike and distrust," which must be accounted for with less than the usual help from the stock explanations of prejudice and tradition. For the moment it may be useful to remind ourselves that we are considering a dominantly rural community forming an opinion of a neighboring country which is most conspicuous in the activities of its largest and most cosmopolitan cities.[12]

(ii) *Alberta and Saskatchewan.* (By G. M. Smith.)

The two western Prairie Provinces now both exceed Manitoba in population, Saskatchewan with 921,785 and Alberta with 731,605 inhabitants in 1931. In Saskatchewan 437,836, and in Alberta 389,238 are of British descent. French number 70,000 in the former and 38,377 in the latter Province. In both Provinces the German element is strong—129,232 in Saskatchewan and 74,450 in Alberta. Ukrainians number 63,400 and 55,872; Scandinavians 62,213 and 47,188. Other racial groups are not specially noticed, although Poles number 25,961 and 21,157; Dutch, 24,695 and 13,665; Hungarians, 13,363 and 5,502. The proportion of British-born is 76.3 per cent in Saskatchewan and 73 per cent in Alberta. The figures which have been given for racial origins must not be allowed to conceal the important fact that of the inhabitants of Alberta 78,959, and of those of Saskatchewan 73,008, were born in the United States. The corresponding figure for Manitoba is only 17,903. These percentages were true for the total population in 1931, but it will be some years to come before they are true of the adult population. In the meantime we must remember that a high percentage of Canadian-born school children may not be very significant in a study of opinions and attitudes.

The annals of the Prairie Provinces as settled communities are short. Settlement on a big scale in Alberta and Saskatchewan dates only from about 1900. The highly organized society of the two

12. In Chapter XII there is a study of the editorial pages of the leading newspapers of Winnipeg and in Chapter XIX a survey of two of the smaller urban communities. In view of this detailed discussion of Manitoban conditions the present section is devoted in the main to its western neighbors.

Provinces is largely the achievement of three decades. From the economic point of view the two Provinces may be described as one great farm, of which the most important product is wheat. Only four cities exceed 40,000 in population, and the two largest, Calgary and Edmonton in Alberta, have populations of about 80,000.

While Alberta and Saskatchewan are thus distinguished from the older, eastern Provinces of Canada by their recent settlement and organization, by the diversity of their people, and by the size and predominance of their agricultural industry, it would be unwise to assume that there arises from these distinguishing characteristics any special attitude of their citizens towards the United States. It is true that the agricultural interests of the Provinces and their dependence on a world market in wheat create a definite point of view in economic affairs. The desire for freer trade and lower tariffs is general. The people wish to sell their wheat and their beef with profit. They wish to buy their farm implements and their motor cars as cheaply as possible. Moreover they frequently express the historic attitude in North American history of the frontier and debtor West to the creditor East. But these familiar attitudes of primary producers in newly settled areas offer no convincing clue to the attitude of the people towards the United States. If annoyance has been created in the past by rising American tariffs, it has not endured, except perhaps when protection has virtually amounted to a prohibitive embargo. It is recognized that fellow-farmers across the line may require protection and that Canada also is a country of high tariffs. American economic policies seem to influence attitudes towards the United States to a remarkably small extent.

The cosmopolitan pattern of the population produces a general attitude of tolerance natural in people accustomed to live among neighbors of other cultures. There may be a differing emphasis of opinion among the various nationalities. No special studies have been made among the peoples of continental European origin, but casual observation suggests that these people have brought no anti-American bias to Canada and have acquired no bias here. People of British origin of whatever class hold tenaciously to their "old country" traditions. They sustain and foster the feelings which are the result of Canada's connection with "the mother country." They are quick to contrast British and American ways. They tend to

emphasize whatever is different in the Canadian and American cultures. Yet they are humorously aware that their attitude to things North American changes quickly in the Canadian environment. It is unnecessary to describe the attitude of Americans in the two Provinces towards their native country. It should be remarked that the good-fellowship of American farmers in Alberta and Saskatchewan does much to promote friendly feelings toward Americans in general. The attitude of native-born Canadians is complex. A North American attitude of mind, feelings of loyalty to the British connection, and desire to strengthen Canadian nationality create somewhat complicated emotions. Canadians admire Great Britain but are somewhat slow to accept Englishmen. They easily establish friendly personal relations with Americans and yet are not free from a tendency to disparage Americans and the United States as abstractions. They are inclined to correct all caricatured views of either English or Americans not expressed by themselves. It would seem that Canadians are determined to be both a North American and a British nation, but above all a nation with a distinctive Canadian personality. To this desire to foster their own nationality by a people instinctively aware of the unconscious pressures which might be exerted by the mass and weight of the vaster, richer, and more powerful nation to the south may be attributed in some measure the disparaging remarks by Canadians about Americans and the parochial superiority which emerges in the interviews reported in this survey and which is so often a source of surprise and distress to Americans in Canada. Among those interviewed were many who held that the opinion of Canadians in Alberta and Saskatchewan was more friendly towards the United States than the attitude of Canadians elsewhere. Yet the observers noted that the words of criticism often came more readily than the words of praise.

To magnify this fact into evidence of anti-American bias would be a great mistake. The subject of Canadian-American relations is by no means one of frequent public or private discussion. The absence of such discussion is a sign of healthy relations. The United States is taken for granted as a friendly neighbor. The press of the two Provinces is intermittent in its comment on American affairs but is clearly free from bias and does nothing to encourage an unfriendly attitude. Teachers deny any bias in their teaching. The few passages

of invidious comment which linger in the textbooks are hard to find. No political party can be accused of fostering anti-American sentiment for domestic reasons. Associations which exist to stimulate interest in Canadian affairs, and even those which cherish a belief in their special loyalty to the British connection, reveal no anti-American attitude. Lawyers may compare their professions in the Provinces and in the western states altogether favorably to themselves and to Canada; they may look to England for their professional ideals; but they betray no general anti-American prejudices. The Church of England may be said to foster the English tradition, but Anglicans would properly resent any imputation of anti-American bias. Artisans with a preference for Canadian unions are prompted by no hostility to the United States. On the other hand, it cannot be said that associations with American affiliations, such as the international unions or the service clubs, greatly foster closer Canadian-American relations. Among the members personal attitudes are more obvious than any group attitude.

Social relations along the border leave an impression of great intimacy. There Canada merges into the United States. Direct business communication between Alberta and Saskatchewan and the north-western states is slight in volume. The channels of commerce run east and west. The neighbor states and Provinces know one another best in holiday clothes. It cannot be said that the greater familiarity that the motor car has brought has bred contempt. On the contrary it helps to account for the recurring adjective "friendly" in the interviews. Those whose contacts with the United States are less superficial than those of the tourist no doubt return with a higher appreciation of that country. For example, Canadians who have studied in American universities are more significant apostles of international understanding than motorists on a holiday, but the impressions of the motorist are by no means a negligible factor in the creation of a more discriminating understanding.

On the plane of high politics, the people of Alberta and Saskatchewan clearly share the views of their fellow Canadians. That the relations of Canada and the United States are and must be cordial is an axiom. The desire for understanding between the United States and Great Britain is deep and widespread. It is difficult for Canadians to believe in the possibility of anything but good

Anglo-American relations, for any other thought is abhorrent. Any expression of pro-British feeling in the United States appreciably raises the temperature of Canadian good-feeling towards the United States. The belief is general that serious misunderstanding between Great Britain and the United States would shake the foundations of Canadian unity.

The explanation of the critical habit of Canadians is a matter of opinion. It may be that there have been times in Canada when a more genuine fear of American penetration has existed and that those days have left a residuary deposit of bias. At the time of the elections of 1911 there were Canadians who were temporarily led to fear the growth of American influence and a break with British tradition. They were quick to recognize the folly of their fears. Perhaps more spontaneous criticism was generated in the years from 1914 to 1917 and later, in the days when America "won the war," withdrew to prosperity and splendid isolation, and when difficulties arose between her and Great Britain on the subject of war debts. But memories of the past, even those of a decade ago, are dim. More convincing is the explanation that cultures, even if they have much in common, are notoriously jealous of one another. Differences in the Canadian and American cultures are instinctively recognized by Canadians. They are not unnaturally emphasized by a younger and smaller people developing towards nationhood beside a more powerful neighbor. Whatever the explanation, bias in the Provinces of Alberta and Saskatchewan has but a dull edge.

V. *British Columbia.* (By H. F. Angus.)

The last division of Canada which we have to consider is the Province of British Columbia, whose population in 1931 was 694,263. No fewer than 490,000 are classed as British in origin. Of these 272,000 are English, 135,000 Irish, and 72,000 Scottish. The other European races account for 127,000, of whom no one race supplies any remarkable proportion. The Asiatic races number about 51,000. Of these 27,000 are Chinese, but this group seems destined to die out since nearly 25,000 are males.

Of the total population more than half—375,000—were born in Canada, and of these 233,000 were born in British Columbia. The next largest contingent comes from Ontario—54,600. The Prairie

Provinces contribute 58,000, the Maritimes 19,000 and Quebec 9,000. More of the inhabitants were born in the British Isles than in the whole of Canada outside British Columbia—117,000 in England, 47,000 in Scotland, 13,000 in Ireland, and 4,000 in Wales. Continental Europe was the "birthplace" of 59,000, Asia of 36,000, and the United States of 35,000.

When we take the ages of the population into account it seems probable that, of those over school age, not more than one in six were born and brought up in British Columbia, and that of those occupying influential positions today not more than one in ten were born and brought up in the Province.

There is thus in British Columbia a small population drawn from many sources. The differences in cultural background make uniformity of outlook unlikely. We cannot, however, go so far as to assume that groups of opinion can be arranged on the basis of birthplace or cultural background. But the lines of cleavage, whether social or economic, which exist in any society do not operate on homogeneous material in British Columbia, and we must, therefore, expect to find a professional group, or an income group, in the Province less uniform in outlook than a similar group in a more settled community. It follows that we shall probably find that such groups resemble one another more in British Columbia than elsewhere, and that there will probably be a less pronounced difference between the outlook of a group of teachers and that of a group of lawyers than we should expect to find in older communities.

Another result of this mixture of peoples is that knowledge of the world outside British Columbia is fairly widespread. The great majority of the adult population have numerous contacts with people who live in other Provinces of Canada, in Great Britain, or in the United States. Many of them have first-hand knowledge of conditions in these countries. British Columbians are, as we shall see (Chapter XIX), apt to criticize Americans for ignorance of the world outside their own community. In a group of professional or business men selected by chance in British Columbia, we are almost certain to find men from Ontario and the Maritimes, from England and Scotland, from the United States and, of course, from British Columbia itself.

A third point which must be emphasized is that British Columbia

is in a transitional period, and that the conditions which have been described cannot continue indefinitely. We must expect that society in British Columbia will become more self-contained; that immigrant groups will become less and less important; that it will be less and less frequent for the rising generation to leave the Province for school or university training; and that, consequently, the knowledge of the rest of the world will tend to decrease, at least relatively to that possessed by other communities.

At present these other communities include other Provinces of Canada. In British Columbia a higher proportion of the population has immigrated from the British Isles. There is a smaller non-English-speaking element to be assimilated than in the other western Provinces. The presence of an appreciable population of Asiatic race also constitutes a point of difference. This Oriental population is not a direct influence on opinion, but its presence accentuates the similarity of British Columbia to the Pacific Coast States, with whom many citizens feel that they have a problem in common.

Some of the special groups which exist in British Columbia can be briefly noticed. There is an important, though numerically small, group brought up with United Empire Loyalist traditions in Ontario. In many ways these traditions are anti-American. Particularly in the case of the men, they have been overlaid or neutralized by personal experience. But often a tendency to hostility towards the United States in matters outside the range of personal experience, or in which personal experience has been unfortunate, persists for a surprisingly long time. Among the women a sharper hostility may remain, and the home can always be counted as a conservative influence. There is also a small Loyalist group from the Maritime Provinces, whose tendencies are not so strongly marked.

English settlers must be divided into two groups: those who have been to "public schools" and those who have not. The first group consists partly of retired men, often from the services, who have either a pension or private means. This group suffered heavily in the war and has not been reinforced since. Its importance lies in its influence on the rising generation, for its descendants are young men and young women who have received their education in the Province, but who have been brought up in close contact with

English ideas, English periodicals, letters from relatives, visits to England and visits from relatives. This group is apt to feel—and not altogether without reason—a certain superiority in education, ideals, and civilization to the community to which it has migrated. Its "values" are definitely English values, and it wishes to preserve these values against American influences, and against many Canadian influences as well.

The humbler English group consists of white-collared office personnel and of mechanics and artisans. Often they like leadership and respond generously if they find people in influential positions who display the demeanor which they think becoming—a demeanor which is certainly not American. The mechanics and artisans are likely to be radical (in the English sense) in outlook, and even if they are socialistically inclined, set a high value on personal liberty, which they do not think is well protected in the United States.

A small group can conveniently be mentioned here—the pseudo-English. It consists of those who are Canadian by birth but English by social ambition. They are often violently anti-American because they are anxious to distinguish themselves sharply from Americans.

A strong and well-organized group exists which is basically Scottish. Its tradition might be called a sentimentalized nostalgia which is rather a religion than a doctrine. It has no political tendencies. It perpetuates the costumes and songs of the "old land." It is likely to form a link with parts of the United States where similar groups exist. This Scottish group gets on admirably in British Columbia because it accepts conditions as it finds them, in contrast with part of the English Labour group which is likely to be unpopular because of its irrepressible tendency to criticize.

This list of groups, each held together by traditions which it has imported, might be prolonged. But the task would be futile. The various traditions are not tenaciously held, as they might be in a homogeneous community which felt that, as a community, it had a strong link with the past. They give rise to amusing incidents and explain surprising individual cases, but they have no lasting importance in the social life of the Province.

To the statement that local history does not affect current opinion there is perhaps a minor exception. In Victoria, and to a lesser degree in New Westminster, there survive representatives of the com-

munities which were rather reluctantly "made Canadians by Act of Parliament" when British Columbia entered Confederation. Some would describe their outlook as "colonial," and it might be suggested that this is an outlook which has been handed down by tradition. But, at most, it affects a very small circle.

VI. *Conclusion.*

The survey which has been made of the great territorial or regional divisions of Canada raises a question which sooner or later must be frankly faced and fairly answered: In what sense that is not frankly legalistic can a Canadian nationality be said to exist? It is well to bear this question in mind as we proceed to examine evidence which may show that in spite of the diversities which have been discussed there is a certain unity in Canadian life; which may show, too, that this unity is not a mere creature of sentiment to be explained only through an ingenious use of the symbolism of the British Crown; which may disclose a trend towards increasing unity and the creation of a mighty nation. But while we examine the evidence we must keep an open mind, for it may lead inevitably to utterly different conclusions.

CHAPTER II

THE LEGACY OF THE PAST

I. *The Canadian Press in the Nineteenth Century.* (Based on a study by J. A. Stevenson.)

In many countries the view which people take of their neighbors has been slowly formed on the basis of experience and tradition. There exists a general or national view and a general attitude, which can be understood only after a thorough examination of the historical background. We have seen that considerations of this sort apply in very different degrees to the different parts of Canada and that they hardly apply at all to the Western Provinces, the bulk of whose population has come to them in relatively recent years. Small groups in these Provinces may be affected by the traditions which they have brought with them, whether from the older Provinces or from elsewhere, but these traditions are not uniform and they tend to offset one another. They do not merge in a general dominant attitude in the same way in which a number of physical forces produce a resultant.

There have, of course, been many occasions, since the United States became a separate political entity, when the people living in the territory now comprised in the Dominion of Canada have been acutely conscious of their relationship[1] to the United States. For our present purposes it will be convenient to examine the contemporary comment of newspaper editors on some of these occasions. We shall have much to say of the press, both as a symptom of opinion and as a factor in its formation, and a glimpse of how the Canadian press has functioned during the last eighty years may enable us to understand its present position in Canada. At the same time we shall, without poaching on the preserves of the historians, avoid the fatal error of believing that a century of peace must also be a century of courtesy.

1. A sketch of this aspect of Canadian history may be found in Hugh L. Keenleyside, *Canada and the United States, Some Aspects of the History of the Republic and the Dominion* (New York, 1929), and the subject will be dealt with in companion volumes in the present series.

In this chapter the attitude of the Canadian press will be discussed in three crises which raised the question of Canada's relationship to Great Britain and to the United States. The first of these crises arose out of the American Civil War, the second out of the controversy over the Venezuelan boundary, and the third out of a controversy over the Alaskan boundary. In the first two cases Canada seemed likely to be embroiled in conflict because of her Imperial connection. In the third there seemed to be a possibility of the Empire being embroiled because of a Canadian claim. All three questions belong definitely to the past and are thus different from the Reciprocity controversy of 1911, which will be discussed (in Chapter IX) as an example of the use of the press in molding opinion for election purposes. The chapter will be concluded by examining the accounts of the three crises as they appear in Canadian school books.

We must remember that, up to the end of the nineteenth century, the newspapers of Canada were all separate enterprises, usually owned by some local individual or group, and only a few of them, such as the Toronto *Globe* and the Montreal *Gazette*, made any serious effort to emulate the diversity of news and reading matter supplied by the great metropolitan papers of Great Britain and the United States. They devoted what would seem today an inordinate amount of space to parliamentary reports, and practically every important paper maintained a special parliamentary news service from Ottawa. The speeches of the leading politicians were reported at full length, and as, with rare exceptions, all the leading papers were in that epoch zealous party organs, the reporting of political speeches and events was invariably colored by a strong party bias. The press of Canada continued to show, until the twentieth century began, a deplorable indifference to affairs outside the bounds of Canada, and an examination of the files of old newspapers reveals that international events of prime importance received very inadequate treatment and were often described in brief paragraphs tucked away in odd corners. Even British news was scanty in volume and poor in quality. But at that time few Canadian newspapers had any great financial resources behind them, and many of them were kept alive only by government patronage doled out in various forms. As a result it was out of the question for them to maintain resident

foreign correspondents in London or New York, the two great centers of news-gathering, and they had largely to rely for their international news on its plagiaristic extraction from the columns of American papers. This dependence made it inevitable that the foreign news given to the public had a strong tinge of American coloration, and as every American paper was then passionately nationalist in its approach to international problems, the accuracy and impartiality of the foreign news purveyed to the Canadian public was frequently called in question.

II. *The American Civil War.*

We shall begin our survey of the attitude of the Canadian press towards the United States and its affairs with the developments which led to the American Civil War. Slavery had been formally abolished in Canada West[1] by an enactment of 1793 and all slaves in the British colonies were emancipated by Imperial legislation in 1833. A small number of escaped slaves from the United States sought refuge in Canada, and after the passage of the Fugitive Slave Bill in 1850 even free Negroes felt more secure in British territory. The Fugitive Slave Law was universally condemned by the press of the British American colonies, and special criticism was directed against the injustice of the provision which offered every facility to the slaveholder for the recovery of his property but denied to the Negro any protection from false arrest. The Quebec *Gazette* denounced the bill as "harsh and vindictive in spirit and necessarily unjust in its operation" and declared that fifty unions should have been sacrificed before the North consented to the passage of such a measure, embodying as it did a degrading compromise.

> The cotton spinners of the North were afraid that the cotton growers of the South would renounce their alliance and spin their cotton for themselves, and the North gave up its soil to the manhunter as a hunting-ground and provided beaters and gamekeepers to assist in the chase. (October 4, 1850.)

The Quebec *Gazette* was honest enough to admit that it was influenced in its hostility to the Bill by the fear of the arrival on British soil

1. Now Ontario.

of an increasing number of fugitives, many of them "of depraved moral habits." Other papers were only less critical, and when Daniel Webster defended the constitutionality of the Act, the Montreal *Gazette* wrote (November 4, 1850):

> The measure may be constitutional or expedient in the sense of Mr. Webster, but neither of these will excuse its moral wrong.

Thereafter, developments in the United States began to be closely followed by the newspapers of Canada, which gave considerable publicity to them. The election of Buchanan in 1856 evoked the general comment in the press of Canada that it represented a victory for the Southern slave-owners and that the Northern championship of the slaves could only be half-hearted as long as six northern states had given majorities to Buchanan and Fillmore, who were closely identified with the slave interest.

The celebrated Dred Scott decision in 1857 passed almost unnoticed, but the Quebec *Mercury*, in an editorial (March 1, 1857) captioned "Negroes Are Not Men," declared that the Supreme Court of the United States

> sets aside all the legislation of the United States on the subject for the last fifty years and over-rules all the decisions of the Supreme Court in which the questions were involved from the commencement of the government. All the acquisitions of territory from the origin of government are thus made subservient to the extension of slavery.

In all its comments upon the situation in the United States the press of British America showed that its primary interest was in the question of slavery. It was undoubtedly evidence of this sympathy for the Negroes that influenced John Brown in his decision to hold his secret convention, at which the plans for his ill-starred insurrection were matured, at Chatham in Ontario, May 8–10, 1858. There he outlined to the delegates his plan for freeing the slaves, although more than a year was to elapse before he attempted to carry it out. After the adventure had come to grief at Harper's Ferry, the *Globe* characterized it as "an act of madness," which could only intensify feeling on the eve of a presidential election, but it also commended (October 20, 1859) the motives which had influenced Brown to risk "liberty and life for the advancement of an alien and despised

race." On November 2, 1859, it condemned the execution of Brown, and three weeks later (November 22) it was predicting the imminence of civil war if the tension between the two sections of the United States was not relaxed.

> No force which the South could bring to bear would keep the slaves down were the North anxious that they should be free. Dissolution of the Union would not help the case. The effect would be rather the reverse. The South have not shown wisdom or statesmanship in arousing the spirits of the North by their frantic attempts to extend their peculiar institution.

When the Civil War actually broke out Canadian opinion was deeply stirred by the spectacle of a fratricidal war between two sections of a nation with whom they had of necessity very close ties, and there was also present a feeling of anxiety lest Great Britain and, through her, Canada should be drawn into the struggle. So, after Lincoln asserted in his proclamation that "my paramount object in this struggle is to save the Union and is not either to save or destroy slavery," and it became by no means certain that the cause of freedom must prevail by the triumph of the North, many of the anti-slavery newspapers of Canada declined to manifest any particular enthusiasm for the North and took the ground that Canada's supreme interest was to avoid immersion in the struggle.

But the Toronto *Globe*, under the leadership of George Brown and his brother, Gordon Brown, never wavered for a moment in its anti-slavery policy. In the opening days of the war it ranged itself firmly on the side of the North and denounced the Confederates, but it also made it plain that its support of the North was animated, not by any desire for the preservation of the Union, but by zeal for the emancipation of the slaves. Moreover, so great was its influence over other Liberal papers and members of the Liberal party, that it made the preponderating body of Liberals in Canada West firm adherents of the Northern cause.

The Toronto *Leader*, the official organ of the Conservative party, was at the opening of the Civil War under competent management and was the *Globe's* most formidable competitor. It also happened to have on its staff a certain George Sheppard, who was a native of Richmond, Virginia, and the natural disposition of a

Conservative paper to back the South, which was supposed to be an aristocratic society, was accentuated by his presence. Consequently the editorials of the *Leader* from the start of the war evinced marked pro-Southern sympathies, and before long the New York *Times* was making the charge that the editor was in Confederate pay. On January 25, 1861, before the war had been in progress a month, the situation was thus discussed by the *Globe* in an editorial:

> This fact should always be borne in mind. Though the North may talk lightly of "bringing the South to her senses" by force of arms, a more awful responsibility could not be incurred by man. It is bad enough to commence a war with a foreign nation, but the horrors of such hostilities sink into insignificance compared with those of civil strife. Much better would it be that the South should be allowed to go on her own foolish way undisturbed, until by the laws of nature which will assuredly visit her with the severest punishment, she discovers her errors and returns to that union in which alone she can hope for freedom and prosperity.

The Liberals of Canada West were in general very dissatisfied with the inaugural address of President Lincoln because it contained no pronouncement on the question of slavery, but the *Globe*, in its issue of April 16, 1861, wrote:

> The people will spring to arms with an alacrity worthy of their cause. The Border states may find reasons for postponing secession and the South for retracting its steps. The North has as noble a cause to fight for as any for which blood has ever been shed. Every motive that impels men to do well and bravely is theirs. If they stand as nobly by their cause as their cause is noble, they cannot fail of success.

The common viewpoint of the Conservative press of Canada West was that the fundamental weakness of the American form of government was the absence of a strong centralized core which would have made secession impossible under ordinary circumstances, and that the grievances of the South might have been adjusted if the President had not been elected by a party whose members engaged in the contest with the hope of reward and profit. The *Leader* wrote, on March 5, 1861:

> One fact is certain, that under but slight pressure it [the republican form of government] has literally collapsed. At this moment the executive does not know whether to advance or recede. To this add the conflicting

opinions which meet you at every turn. Some assert that the true policy is to pour troops into the South, retake the fortresses, collect revenue at the entrance of the forts, in short to commence the horrors of civil war. On the other hand moderate men declare that the first shot fired will drive the slave Border states into immediate alliance with the extreme South.

The same paper declared on January 19, 1861:

Slavery cannot be the real cause of the difference, as otherwise the South and North could in twenty-four hours compose their dissensions, for the leading Northern politicians all declare their anxiety to injure the South in no way. But men have reasoned themselves into the necessity of taking some desperate step and their pent-up anger cannot have vent unless in attacking the Union.

But, while the Conservative press showed strong pro-Southern sentiment, only the Ottawa *Gazette* openly defended slavery as an institution.

By July 29, 1861, we find the *Globe* commenting on the hostility of the Northern press towards Canada:

We are aware that the *Herald* is chiefly to blame for this [the transformation of Canadian opinion] and that it probably did it to help the South, but the *Herald* was not alone in its work. Such papers as the Albany *Evening Journal*, the New York *Times*, and the Buffalo *Commercial Advertiser* joined it. The New York *Tribune* was free from this charge and the *World* and the New York *Commercial* had done everything in their power to cultivate friendly relations with England. . . . A great deal of sympathy with the North has now disappeared and there is now amidst our population a very general sentiment of pleasure that the pride of the North has been humbled. We deprecate the existence of this feeling: we look upon the recent disaster [Bull Run] as a great injury to Canadian interests as well as the cause of humanity, but we cannot wonder that the people should smile at the present absurd position of a people whose leading journals were boasting only a week ago that they would wrest these provinces in defiance of the whole power of England.

A week later (August 7, 1861) the language was stronger:

The insolent bravado of the Northern press towards Great Britain and the insulting tone assumed towards these provinces have unquestionably produced a marked change in the feelings of our people. When the war commenced there was only one feeling of hearty sympathy with the North, but now it is very different. People have lost sight of the character of the

struggle in the exasperation excited by the injustice and abuse showered upon them by the party with which they sympathized. It is not in human nature long to maintain cordial sympathy towards those who are pouring insult continuously upon you.

But its editorials were long and judicious. It went on to say:

True we are told that the people of the North do not participate in the feeling to which their press have given utterances—and that such silly bravado, of which we have heard so much lately, is as distasteful to the great mass of reflecting Americans as it is to us. We believe this—and, notwithstanding the unsatisfactory language of Mr. Lincoln's government as to the "peculiar institution," we do believe that the cause of liberty will be promoted by the success of the North. We cannot doubt that the supremacy of the slave-holder in the government of the Republic has exercised a most pernicious influence on the character and policy of the American people; we cannot doubt that, if our Northern neighbors were freed from the demoralizing thraldom of the slaveocracy, they would give a more genuine testimony for freedom than they have heretofore done; and therefore we have heartily longed for, and do yet heartily desire, the complete establishment of Northern sentiment in the government of the United States.

When the New York *Herald* (July 14, 1861) had written of the Canadian Provinces:

When they are annexed to the Republic, which is only a question of time—a question which may receive its solution before the termination of the year—we will show them the way to act an independent part and to assert the dignity and freedom of the Anglo-Saxon race.

The *Globe* (October 20, 1861) replied:

The New York *Herald* was long a supporter of the rebellion; one day a mob attacked the office; next day it took a somersault and became a rabid supporter of the war . . . and, because it is a friend of the Southern Republic, it is endeavoring to force a war with England, knowing well that within a week after the commencement of hostilities every Southern port would be open and every Northern port closely blockaded.

General indignation was aroused in Canada by the seizure of Messrs. Mason and Slidell by Captain Wilkes. The *Leader* wrote (November 19, 1861):

Wilkes, however, understands the temper of his countrymen. He knows that the capture of leading rebels, however accomplished, would be

applauded and that any insult to the British flag would commend him to the graces of the sweet democracy who reign and rule in the Republic. . . . We have no interest, political, social or commercial, in the preservation intact of a Union whose rulers and people are alike indifferent to the obligations of law and comity; and we may not unreasonably be satisfied with a disruption which, by humbling the North and removing a prime source of its prosperity, may ultimately teach it the pleasure and profitableness of an adherence to right and a cultivation of the courtesy which is due to neutral and friendly powers.

While the issue hung fire during the exchange of notes between the two governments, Canadian opinion took the view that war was almost the inevitable outcome. The *Globe's* comment (January 1, 1862) was:

The cry of war rings throughout the land. At the corner of every street you hear the excited discussion as to the Mason and Slidell outrage, the next news from England, the erection of forts and the probabilities of a fight with the Americans. The excitement, no doubt, had its origin in the insolent tone of the New York *Herald* and the other American journals, but the flame has been fanned by violent articles in the Ministerial press of Canada got up systematically for partisan purposes.

There was no whole-hearted enthusiasm for the North until Lincoln issued his Emancipation Proclamation. It was hailed with keen delight by the *Globe* (September 23, 1862):

President Lincoln has proclaimed the emancipation of all the slaves in states or parts of states found in rebellion on the first of January next and declares that he will press upon Congress the adoption of measures recommended last session to recompense the loyal states for freeing their slaves. This is avowedly a war measure. Mr. Lincoln proclaims emancipation because he cannot save the Union and end the war without doing so. Nevertheless the act is right and will have important results. A large portion of the slave states will be in rebellion on the first of January next; and long ere that, we trust, there will be an army of colored men on foot who will be able to fight for their own freedom.

The *Globe* consistently maintained that Britain should not permit ships fitted out in England to burn and destroy on the high seas the vessels of a friendly power. On November 20, 1862, it declared:

If on inquiry it can be found that England in allowing the *Alabama* to

depart from one of her ports has broken international law, then we hope to see the fault owned and justice immediately done.

The *Globe*, earlier in the same year (February 20, 1862), had given a mildly partisan analysis of Canadian opinion with regard to the war:

But the keenness of discussion among Canadians is also sharpened by the fact that our fossils, our remnants of antiquity, our devotees of church and state alliances entertain the liveliest sentiments of regard for the slave aristocracy of the South, while Liberals are inclined to sympathize with the free North. This division of sentiment is not universal, though it is so near it as to be as accurate as such generalizations usually are. There are some Conservatives who think rebellion against constituted authority so great a crime that they cannot approve of insurrection even against Abe Lincoln's government, and there are some radicals so wedded to the right of revolution that they can see no harm in the action of the Southern people. But the Puritan by nature in Canada generally takes the side of the Puritan in the States and the Cavalier by birth, education and ecclesiastical connections takes that of the man enslaver. Hence has arisen considerable bitterness in the discussion of the Civil War, which however will disappear as it proceeds to a close. There were few of any party in Canada who desired to bring their prejudices on either side into practical operation; the wise policy of neutrality adopted by the Mother Country has recommended itself to the good sense of the people.

The same events had met with a different response in Canada East. As was to be expected, the French-Canadian press was more definitely neutral in tone than the Toronto *Globe*. Thus we find in the *Journal de Quebec* of December 3, 1861:

Nous n'avons pas parmi notre population d'individus qui ont vendu leurs services et leurs plumes à la cause des Etats-Unis, qui ont aidé à l'enrôlement des Canadiens pour l'armée du Nord, malgré la plus stricte neutralité gardée par l'Angleterre et commandée par elle à tous ses sujects. Nous n'avons personne qui regarde avec complaisance vers Washington et qui voudrait une partie du Canada annexée à la république voisine.

Among the English-speaking population of Canada East[1] there was distinctly less sympathy with the North than in Canada West. The Montreal *Gazette* explained that the failure of the Northerners

1. Now Quebec.

to evoke any great sympathy for their cause in Canada East was due to a variety of reasons, of which the chief were that they had never proved their devotion to the cause of freedom by any offer to pay for the emancipation of the slaves, that compliance with the Fugitive Slave Bill had made the Northerners "contrary to their honest convictions slave catchers for the South," and that Northern abuse of Britain, in spite of her strict neutrality, and "absurd bluster about the conquest of Canada" had made Canadians, who were "the strongest abolitionists in the world," rejoice at Southern success (July 25, 1861).

Both the French and the English press in Canada East approved the stand taken by Great Britain in the case of Messrs. Mason and Slidell and supported the preparations for the defense of Canada in the event of war. The *Journal de Quebec* wrote, on December 28, 1861:

> Ainsi il peut donc se faire que la difficulté présente entre les deux puissances se termine d'une manière pacifique, mais dès que la guerre sera tersances se termine d'une manière pacifique, mais dès que la guerre sera terminée avec le Sud, les Etats du Nord, sous un prétexte quelconque declareront la guerre à l'Angleterre pour entretenir la main de ses 600,000 soldats et se dédommager des pertes qu'ils éprouveront probablement par la scission des Etats de Sud. . . . Il est donc prudent de se tenir sur ses gardes quand même l'affaire du *Trent* aurait une solution pacifique et de continuer à nous aguerrir, à nous organiser en armée autant que possible, afin de pouvoir faire face aux premiers dangers, car, comme le dit un vieux proverbe, ce qui est differé n'est pas toujours perdu.

In an article in the same paper on October 20, 1864, dislike of American Republicanism appears:

> We have Royalty in its fullness and, far from impeding liberty, it hourly enlarges its bounds; while in the meantime the Republican government of Washington systematically imprisons all who dare to affirm liberty of thought. But we are far, we hope so at least, from the day when, separated from the mother country, we shall be forced to choose between a Republic and a Monarchy. Let us say, notwithstanding, that the manners of us French-Canadians, our laws and even our instincts are monarchical.

In the Maritime Provinces the Liberal press supported the cause of the North, but it welcomed the British declaration of neutrality and the dispatch of a special contingent of British troops to

Canada as a precautionary measure and approved of the British protests about Messrs. Mason and Slidell. That the apprehension of war with the United States was a reality can be seen from the following quotation from the Halifax *Morning Chronicle* of July 30, 1863:

> In the case of hostilities with the United States the facility which a railroad from Halifax through British territory would afford for the transport of troops and munitions of war would be of incalculable advantage. . . . Nor is it the least of advantages that would result from this facility that the knowledge of its existence would tend to avert hostilities that might otherwise grow out of a sense of comparative insecurity attendant on aggressive movements. No less than seventeen lines of American railroads lead through the United States to the borders of Canada and give means of hostile and rapid approach. Not a single line of British railroad connects the provinces together or affords communication from the Atlantic shore through national territory. None more than the inhabitants of Nova Scotia appreciate the advantages of peaceful relations with the United States. They, however, who are placed in close proximity are less credulous than others may be as to the impossibility of hostilities between the two powers. And yet it is apparent that the foreign relations of no government are so subject as those of the United States to the influences of popular opinion or of party interests. The great work we advocate is as necessary to enable Her Majesty's North American colonies to promote their material progress in peace as it is necessary for their complete defense in war. The undertaking we urge must be accomplished while the danger that prompts it is distant and contingent, otherwise it will come too late to avert the evils it is destined to counteract.

Before passing on to examine the response of Canadian opinion to other incidents in the relations of the British provinces and the United States, there are a few comments to be made. The memory of the American Civil War has probably a very slight effect on contemporary Canadian opinion towards the United States. But in the ponderous utterances of the Canadian newspapers of that day there are some tendencies disclosed which still color Canadian attitudes towards the United States. For one thing there is the division of Canadian opinion typified by the *Leader* and the *Globe*. Then there is the distrust of American justice, which appeared unreliable where black men were concerned. There is also, even in quarters most friendly to the United States, a suspicion that the

American political system cannot stand severe strains, a suspicion tempered perhaps by the recognition of the magnitude of the strain which that system is continually enduring. There is the belief that "politics" in the sinister sense is more influential in the American than in the British system. There is the belief that in a crisis American behavior is not predictable, and that Americans in their excitement may turn on their closest friends. And yet there is the confidence that, given time to reach the mass of the people, the American community is highly reliable. There is a frankly admitted pleasure in seeing "Yankee boastfulness" humbled. And, finally, there is a dislike of the American press and a belief that it misrepresents the nation to its discredit. If we find similar opinions or prejudices recurring in our survey of contemporary attitudes, let us remember that they could be found in the newspapers of the country seventy-five years ago.

III. *The Venezuelan Boundary Crisis.*

When, towards the close of 1895, the news broke in Canada that a serious crisis had developed in the relations of the United States and Britain, because the former had seen fit to interfere in a boundary dispute between Britain, as trustee for her colony of British Guiana, and Venezuela, and that President Cleveland, asserting the Monroe Doctrine in a truculent message to the United States Congress, had asked for funds to pay the expenses of an American commission to be charged with the task of investigating the merits of the dispute, public opinion throughout Canada was deeply stirred, especially as there was a scarcely veiled threat of war if Britain did not accept the American proposals.

On December 19, 1895, the Montreal *Gazette* (Conservative) discussed the matter editorially:

> President Cleveland is evidently disposed to make all the capital out of the situation that he can, but he is too sensible a man to seek to bring matters to such a pass that a war between Great Britain and the United States is the only issue. He will prefer that the Commission should simply keep patriotic sentiment in the United States simmering until the Presidential campaign is over and then he can leave his successors in the Government to get out of the international entanglement with such dignity as they can command. . . . Men of every party, race and creed throughout

the Empire will heartily endorse Lord Salisbury's refusal to risk the transfer of large numbers of British subjects who have for many years enjoyed the settled rule of a British colony to a nation of a different race and language, whose political system is subject to frequent disturbance and whose constitution as yet too often offers very inadequate protection to life and property. . . . The result of the Commission (if it ever has any) will make no difference to anybody. If the United States likes to spend its money in investigating a boundary dispute between Great Britain and Venezuela, that is the United States' Government's own look-out, but it would be absurd to suppose that the British Government would be in any way bound and influenced by the result of an inquiry by a hostile nation which had no right to interfere in the dispute.

Five days later the *Gazette* added:

Whatever other result President Cleveland's sensational and unstatesmanlike message may be destined to lead up to, it is certain to clear away the ambiguities that have so long shrouded the Monroe doctrine from a just and natural interpretation. . . . It was reserved for President Cleveland to accompany it with threats to Britain which were virtually threats to Europe, threats which, if merely *bruta fulmina*, can only expose him and his upholders to derision. Assuredly Great Britain does not desire war and if the people of the United States desire it simply because Mr. Cleveland has used his position to insult a friendly power, we are much mistaken. As for Canada, if she does not shake with fear it would be folly to suppose that she could look with complacency on such a crisis. She had war thrust upon her once before and she was able to repulse the aggressors; and without boasting, the spirit of her sons and daughters has not changed. But war is a terrible thing and it is to be sincerely hoped that no such issue awaits us.

On December 19, the Toronto *Globe* (Liberal) had been even more outspoken:

More than one explanation is offered about the Presidential message but there would be natural hesitation in accepting those which ascribe it to the exigencies of party politics. That the chief magistrate of the United States should lead his country into a position where there is only a choice left between national humiliation and war, for the mere purpose of going his opponents one better in the game of jingo, almost transcends belief, but looking at the matter from every side it is difficult to avoid that conclusion. . . . We would hope that there is at least a portion of the nation behind the President for whom neither the applauding Senate nor the

chauvinistic press speaks—a saving remnant which does not consider that the Republic is covering itself with glory in swaggering insolently in face of a friendly nation because it dares to breathe while American politicians are laying their plans for their quadrennial electoral squabble.

On December 24, the *Globe* discussed the possibility of war:

It is generally accepted that although the controversy between Great Britain and the United States has its sources in South America, the theatre of war, should that deplorable contingency arise, would not be South America but the coasts and frontiers of the United States and Canada. . . . Grave as is the situation created for Canada, it is one that she accepts absolutely without murmuring. She will not complain that she may be involved in a dispute in which she had no concern, because it is of her own choice that she remains a member of a worldwide empire with worldwide responsibilities. In such a situation there is, we are persuaded, but one feeling and that is a desire to coöperate heartily with Great Britain in her effort to bring the controversy to a peaceful and honorable close.

In the Maritime Provinces the Halifax *Chronicle* had discussed the same issue on December 21:

For a bloody and devastating war to take place between two branches of the English-speaking people, which today represent all that is good and progressive in civilization, is a calamity which scarcely any of us have ventured to regard as among the possibilities. But no one can fail to note that in the last few years there has been developing in the United States a constant jealousy towards Great Britain and a disposition to invoke unworthy sentiments in relation to our Empire. It is deemed the most effectual of campaign documents to charge any candidate for high office in the United States with being friendly to Britain, which ought indeed to be a matter of honor and credit. . . . We shall not be jingoes. We believe that sober, right-thinking men in this country will deplore war. It is likely that Canada would suffer from the effects of war more than any other portion of the Empire. We shall continue to hope that wisdom may prevail, that moderation will guide the counsels of all concerned and that hostilities may be averted. . . . Nevertheless, we in Canada are a portion of the British Empire. We are Britons. We believe in the rectitude and honor of the Empire as the inhabitants of the British Isles, and therefore, if war must come let it be distinctly understood that all Canadians stand side by side with Great Britain in this contest from the beginning to the bitter end. Whatever resources of men and money we possess are at the

service of the Empire and in this view our counsels are united and our voice is the voice of one man.

As in the case of the American Civil War, we find the Canadian press inclined to consider the United States as politically irresponsible and to distribute the blame between the party politicians and the reckless American press. We cannot help noticing the widespread confidence in British statesmen and the readiness to accept to the fullest degree the consequences of membership in the British Empire.[2] This is particularly important because we are dealing with the period during which the men now influential in the political and business life of Canada were receiving their early education. This is the atmosphere in which they lived. The point is one to which we shall have to recur in the discussion of education.

We must next turn to a controversy to which Canada was herself a party and in which Canadians were inclined to feel that Canadian interests were unduly sacrificed by British statesmen to the cause of peace. It appeared as if the people of Great Britain were not quite so ready to stand by the Empire, when Canadian interests were at stake, as Canadians had been to stand by Great Britain. There was a good deal of disillusionment. While the Venezuelan boundary dispute has been forgotten in Canada, the Alaskan boundary is still a subject of bitter comment.

IV. *The Alaska Boundary Arbitration.*

In January, 1903, a treaty was signed providing that seven issues relating to the boundary between Alaska and Canada were to be submitted for decision to a tribunal, which was to consist of six impartial jurists of repute, who were to consider judicially the questions presented to them. Each side was to appoint three commissioners. On January 25, the Toronto *Telegram* (a paper of strong protectionist and imperialist views, but with radical tendencies) wrote:

Canada has either to fight or to be robbed, and Britain has decided that submission to robbery is cheaper than war. Britain is probably right. Canada would not ask Britain to go to war over the questions at issue in the Alaskan Boundary dispute, but Canada should understand that her

2. For a comparison with the Ethiopian crisis of 1935, *see* pp. 17–18.

rights are being sacrificed, and not protected, by the arrangements just completed at Washington.

The Toronto *Star* (Liberal) wrote (January 25, 1903):

If the Americans win over an Imperial delegate to their views, Canada loses. On the other hand, if the British Commissioners win the support of one of the United States delegates, the Dominion might be no further ahead, for it is open to serious doubt if the American Senate would ratify a finding in our favor.

The Winnipeg *Free Press* (Liberal) was quite cynical (January 25, 1903):

Great hopes are entertained that the member of the court representing the British Government will throw down the Canadian case in the time-honored manner and thus enable the Americans to score a victory.

The Toronto *News* (Independent Conservative) was better satisfied (January 25, 1903):

A bad settlement is always better than a good law-suit, and in the United States we are dealing with a litigant of peculiarly difficult temperament.

The Toronto *Globe* praised the agreement (January 26, 1903):

The people of Canada will learn with pleasure that an agreement has been reached by the Governments of Great Britain and the United States to refer this long-standing and dangerous dispute to a Commission for settlement. . . . Should one or more of the three [jurists] representing Canada feel themselves constrained after full investigation so to decide Canadians will loyally and frankly accept the adverse verdict and will expect the people of the United States to do the same. There will be no sense of grievance, however the matter is finally settled.

From the first the Canadian public was suspicious. On February 3, when changes in the treaty were being negotiated through the British Embassy to facilitate its ratification by the American Senate, the Toronto *Globe* had complained of "mischievous secrecy":

The policy of keeping back from the general public the precise terms of such an agreement as the one relating to the Alaska-Yukon Boundary has no defense; it is calculated and certain to be injurious and it has already been so to an indefinite extent. So long as treaties have to be ratified by the United States Senate any affectation of secrecy must be a farce, for it is

utterly impossible to keep its members from talking, and the inevitable result is the conveyance of wrong impressions to the public. This is exactly what has happened with the present treaty.

In British Columbia, the *News Advertiser*, on February 14, pointed out:

The pressure brought to bear to conclude the agreement embraced in the treaty emanated from Ottawa and not from London. Anxious as the Imperial Government is to remove everything likely to cause friction between Great Britain and the United States, it took no step towards reopening negotiations in regard to the Alaskan Boundary question until requested to do so by the Canadian Government.

When Mr. Roosevelt's choice of commissioners was announced, and the Canadian protest discouraged by the British Government, great disappointment was expressed. On February 19, the Toronto *Globe* wrote:

But if, as is announced, the American members of the Commission are to be such men as Judge Turner, of Spokane, Henry Cabot Lodge, of Massachusetts, and Elihu Root, it makes very little difference how ably our case is presented. There could be no hope of convincing a gentleman like Judge Turner, whose whole political associations have conspired to instil into him the importance of having the American contention maintained at any cost; or like Mr. Lodge, whose Chauvinism is notorious. These gentlemen might be convinced but they could be depended on to conceal the fact. It is not uncharitable to take that for granted. Mr. Root is a distinguished lawyer, but he is a politician and a member of the Cabinet, and it would be singular if he could be trusted to be judicial towards the question in hand.

On February 21, the London *Advertiser* (Liberal) declared:

Something better was expected of President Roosevelt and Secretary Hay, who are large-minded and fair-minded men, and have been studious to maintain friendly relations with Great Britain. The explanation given is that the Senate would not ratify the Treaty unless it had assurances that the United States Commissioners would stand by the American contention under any circumstances. This is the view advanced by the leading American journals.

The Hamilton *Spectator* wrote on February 23:

From the moment the scheme to settle the Alaska Boundary dispute was announced no Canadian has suspected that any of the three American

"jurists" could possibly do anything but back the American contention. And now that the American jurists have been appointed, it is discovered that their principal qualification seems to be their unusual ability as twisters of the British Lion's tail.

It was on October 20, 1903, that the decision of the Alaska Boundary Commission was made public, along with the statement that two of the Canadian Commissioners, Sir Louis Jetté and Mr. A. B. Aylesworth, had refused to sign it. There was an outburst of indignant protest in the press:

Sacrificed on the altar of diplomacy to make Britain solid with the United States (Toronto *World*).

Canadian interests have been sacrificed by Lord Alverstone (Toronto *Globe*).

Robbed of our rights (Peterborough *Times*).

Canada was tricked in the Alaskan dispute (St. John *Telegraph*).

Canadian independence may eventually be arbitrated away (Halifax *Herald*).

Surrenders our rights on the altar of expediency (Winnipeg *Tribune*).

Led like a lamb to the slaughter (Vancouver *Province*).

Canada robbed of the fruits of victory (Vancouver *World*).

The Ottawa *Citizen*, on October 24, declared that the idea of independence was being freely discussed in the very capital of Canada. In the weeks which followed, the Toronto *Globe* took the line that the Canadian people were fully justified in accepting the view of their Commissioners; that throughout the controversy and the negotiations Canadians had been treated like children, with the British Ambassador in Washington acting as stool-pigeon for the United States; that Lord Alverstone was bound in honor to reply to the judgment and the charges of the Canadian Commissioners; that Canadian resentment was deep and would be permanent; that while the idea of war was deplorable, sacrifices in the interests of peace should not all be exacted from Canada; and that such a policy on the part of Great Britain was an injustice to the Dominion, a

humiliation to the whole Empire and an encouragement to American aggressiveness. It concluded with the charge:

> The Foreign Office desired to have the controversy closed and preferred compromise to long delay. The American Commissioners held out against Lord Alverstone's judgment. His Lordship, against his own judgment, yielded for diplomatic reasons.

La Presse of Montreal lamented that Great Britain had sacrificed the confidence of her greatest colony to win the dubious good will of the United States. The Winnipeg *Free Press* feared that Canadians would unanimously accept the statements of their representatives that their interests had been sacrificed; and the Halifax *Chronicle* concluded that the result had clearly revealed Canada's subordinate position and had made it almost unendurable.

In this controversy, as in the other two which we have examined, we are primarily interested in the opinions expressed at the moment and not with the considered judgments of history. It is not with the personal honor of President Roosevelt, of his Commissioners, or of Lord Alverstone that we are concerned, nor with the propriety of the protest of Sir Louis Jetté and Mr. Aylesworth. These things must be left to the historian and the biographer. Nor are we concerned with the part which the Alaska Boundary award may have played in hastening the development of Canadian autonomy. For us the significant fact is that Canadians, under provocation, lost their tempers and that the press gave expression to their annoyance. Once again they accused Americans of allowing domestic politics to play too great a part in their public actions. Once again they denounced bullying and bluff. Once again they felt that their great neighbor was unreliable and unaccountable. There was added a suggestion of sharp practice, of duplicity, of want of sportsmanship. These accusations, in one form or another, are never far below the surface. We shall meet them frequently in the course of this study. It is significant that we find them brought to a focus at a period in which the men now in positions of influence and power were in the formative years of early manhood.

More difficult to analyze was the attitude towards Great Britain. In the hour of anger the feeling was one of being betrayed. There remained a sense of disappointment. An illusion had been shattered.

Many, no doubt, came to recognize that the illusion had to perish one day and that one must live in a real and not a shadow world. Others reconstructed their illusion as best they could. Others, who kept their heads cool, exploited the situation in order to advance their own political ideas, some with patriotic, some with personal motives. So it has happened that the repercussions of the award have spread far beyond the field of opinion into the realm of action and, for good or ill, have helped to transform Canada's outlook.

The award was thus one of the factors which made the turn of the century a landmark in Canadian history and a fitting point at which to end this preliminary survey of the Canadian newspapers. Great changes were taking place in the character of the Canadian press. The South African War (1899–1902) had given to hundreds of Canadian homes a first-hand interest in news from the world outside. The heavy immigration from the British Isles in the early years of the new century sustained the demand. The newspapers responded to the demand but, as we shall see, it was some ten years before the present structure of the Canadian press was completed.

V. *What Children Are Taught About These Controversies.*

The three controversies which have been used as illustrations of the legacy of the past have been observed through the eyes of contemporaries. This is not, of course, the form in which they present themselves to Canadians today. They have been recorded and analyzed by historians and they have been adapted by educationists for presentation to school children. In other volumes in this series the historians will speak for themselves. In later chapters of this book we shall have something to say of the educationists. Here and now we may glance at a sample of their handiwork.

As the writers of textbooks for use in the schools and the patriotic citizens who egg them on are commonly accused of distorting the truth, or of skilfully shifting the fair historical emphasis in stating the truth, in a way which foments international ill will or perpetuates international hatreds so as to dispose people to war, it may be of interest to use the three controversies which we have followed in the Canadian press of their respective periods as a test case. The textbooks in use in British Columbia are taken as a sample.

The basic text in English and Canadian history[3] used in elementary schools and junior high schools says, after mentioning border disturbances in sympathy with the Canadian rebels in 1838, and the Fenian raids in 1866: "For over a hundred years the two countries have enjoyed an uninterrupted period of friendly relations." (Page 172.) No mention whatever is made of the American Civil War or of its repercussions. Two pages are devoted to the Alaskan boundary. These contain the following explanation:

In 1903 the question of the Alaska boundary was referred to a joint commission which was to be composed of six "impartial jurists of repute." Unfortunately, two of the three American commissioners appointed could not be described as impartial, since they had already expressed their opinions in regard to the matter in dispute, and had actually been appointed by President Roosevelt on this account. In the end the British representative, Lord Alverstone, was compelled to defer to their judgment in order to avoid war. The two Canadian commissioners disagreed with the award; but the result was that the United States obtained not only the boundary line it had claimed, but also two small islands the only value of which was that they were thought to command the entrance to the future terminus of a trans-Canada railway. . . . Strong feeling was aroused in Canada over the award, and it was denounced as only another of a long series of betrayals of Canada by Great Britain in her negotiations with the United States. It was unfortunate that the United States was not able to abandon her claim to the two small islands in dispute; and it was particularly regrettable that the United States should have referred to arbitration a matter which she was apparently not willing to leave to "impartial jurists of repute." But that Canadian interests have been betrayed by Great Britain in the boundary negotiations is a view that has no basis in fact. In nearly every case Great Britain has obtained for Canada boundaries as satisfactory as could have been obtained under the circumstances, and in many cases she has obtained better terms than Canada could have hoped to obtain by direct negotiation.

In the high schools a history of Canada has been used for reference which is still prescribed as a text in Saskatchewan and Manitoba.[4] It has a long section entitled, "How the American Civil War helped

3. W. S. Wallace, *A New History of Great Britain and Canada* (Toronto, 1929).

4. G. M. Wrong, C. Martin and W. N. Sage, *The Story of Canada* (Toronto, 1929).

the Federation of Canada."[5] (Page 188.) The following account is given of the effects of the war on Canada:

In 1861 a dark cloud appeared on Canada's horizon, when civil war broke out in the United States, and within a few months it seemed as if Britain might be involved in the war. When Gladstone, a member of the British Cabinet, expressed sympathy with the seceding South, the North thought that Britain hoped for the ruin of their nation. They were, they said, fighting to end slavery, which Britain herself had denounced and abolished thirty years earlier; and yet she seemed to favor the slave-owners. In November, 1861, when two envoys of the South, Mason and Slidell, sailed on a British ship, the *Trent*, for Europe, to press the interests of the South in England and in France, an American warship stopped the *Trent*, seized the ambassadors, and carried them to Boston.

At once anger flared up in England, and the fire-eating Lord Palmerston, the Prime Minister, demanded the release of the envoys and an apology for the outrage. There were leaders in the United States who desired war, in the hope that it would unite North and South against a common enemy. Since clearly, in such a case, Canada would be invaded, Britain now sent troops to Halifax. It was winter; the St. Lawrence was blocked by ice; there was no railway connecting Nova Scotia with Canada; and the troops had to make a long hard march overland in order to reach the scene of danger in Canada. Meanwhile wise counsels on both sides averted war; the United States released the envoys and made due apology. But bitterness remained, and, with a hostile nation on her frontier, it was the duty of Canada to be prepared.

In office was a ministry headed by Georges Etienne Cartier, from Canada East, with John Alexander Macdonald as the leader from Canada West. Already, during twenty years, Macdonald's striking political energy had been active on the Conservative side, and one of his most passionate aims was to preserve Canada's tie with Britain. In face now of the menace from the United States, he proposed, in April, 1862, heavy expenditure for the defense of Canada. To this Cartier agreed; but he could not hold his French followers, unwilling to be taxed to keep up an army. Accordingly, Macdonald's proposal was defeated, and the government resigned. When the mayor of Montreal welcomed the British troops just arrived, Canada, he said, was fortunate in being protected by one of the most powerful nations in the world. Hail to the red-coats, "the more the better, if they took not a penny out of the pockets of the Canadians." Naturally, Britain,

5. *See* C. Martin, "The United States and Canadian Nationality," *Canadian Historical Review*, March, 1937.

spending heavily to defend Canada, was angry at this ignoble attitude. The *Times* called the Canadians an inert race, "lacking in the first virtues of freemen." They had "money for all kinds of corrupt jobs, but money for honor, money for liberty, money for independence, they have nothing to spare." It added that England had no terror at the thought of Canada's breaking away from the Empire, since she was an incumbrance, involving Britain herself in the danger of war.

Such was the discredit which danger from the United States brought upon Canada; and thousands of Canadians felt impotent rage at her failure to meet the demands of self-respect. The French, angry at the venomous attacks of the *Globe* on their race and religion, were, however, unyielding. No government could last; and, after two more years of drifting, with pressing problems of defense, of railways, of trade all unsolved, it became clear to leaders on both sides that some change must be made to end a system which paralyzed action. (Page 202.)

In this book, the Venezuela crisis is not mentioned and the Alaska boundary is dismissed in four lines:

The Klondike gold rush, of 1898, brought to a head the dispute over the Alaskan Boundary. This, too, was referred to arbitration, and although the award of 1903 met with much opposition in British Columbia, it was in the end accepted. (Page 349.)

We now pass on to the text prescribed for high schools.[6] In explaining the refusal of the United States to renew the Reciprocity Treaty in 1864, it says:

During the Civil War the Northern States had regarded Britain as openly sympathetic with the South and a distinct anti-British feeling had arisen. (Page 318.)

Later, we are told that "the American Civil War in the United States greatly increased the demand for food products." (Page 322.) Its repercussion on Canadian politics is briefly mentioned: (Page 341.)

The American Civil War and the danger of disturbances at the border directed attention to the lack of proper defense force. In April 1862 the government introduced a measure providing for a militia force of fifty thousand men, which, however, failed to obtain the support of its followers. The government was defeated and forthwith resigned.

6. D. A. McArthur, *History of Canada for High Schools* (Toronto, 1927). This book is also used in Nova Scotia.

Finally, the Civil War is mentioned as an indirect cause of Confederation: (Page 348.)

The Civil War in the United States had brought the British North American provinces to realize the weakness involved in separation. The Northern States had regarded Britain as openly sympathetic with the South and on more than one occasion this situation had threatened war. In case of war British territory could be more effectively defended if placed under the control of a single government. The success of the Northern States indicated that the Republic was firmly established and that with the suppression of internal dissensions the way was cleared for an aggressive national policy and for energetic and united action. It therefore behooved the British provinces to make every preparation possible for the protection of their interests. The statesmen of the Confederation period believed the British connection worth preserving because they placed a high value on British traditions and on British institutions which guaranteed liberty and justice. . . .

The *Alabama* claims are briefly mentioned as a reason which induced Sir John A. Macdonald not to press his demands for reparation for the Fenian raids before the Joint High Commission in 1871. (Page 363.)

As in the other textbooks the Venezuela crisis is not mentioned, but the Alaska boundary dispute is discussed in detail. There is the usual comment on the "impartial jurists of repute," contrasting the fair play of Great Britain with the sharp practice of Mr. Roosevelt. Then the merits of the case are considered and we are told that "there was a reasonable justification for this decision [on the boundary on the mainland] in the evidence before the tribunal, and, while it caused disappointment in Canada, it cannot be regarded as unfair." (Page 396.) As regards the islands, Lord Alverstone is said to have sacrificed his own view, which favored the Canadian claims, in order to avoid a complete deadlock. Then follows the comment:

The award aroused a storm of protest in Canada. Canadian interests were represented as having been sacrificed by the mother country. Much of this bitter feeling was due to the appointment by the United States of arbitrators who had an interest in defeating the Canadian contention. At the time of the award there was fear lest the small islands given to the United States in the Portland Channel might command the terminus of the Grand Trunk Pacific Railway, but it was later discovered that they were of slight value, and little has been heard of them since that time. The

composition of the tribunal was unfortunate, and Lord Alverstone was placed in a most difficult position. He was expected to protect Canadian interests and was, doubtless, regarded as an arbitrator between the Canadians and the representatives of the United States. He probably feared the consequences of the failure of the arbitration and may have decided that the two small islands were a cheap price to pay for peace. With the decline of the Yukon gold field, the disputed Alaskan boundary ceased to be a matter of importance.

No one can accuse these historians of inflaming national passions, and yet, perhaps, their work is not wholly immune from criticism. The obvious reluctance to deal with the American Civil War on its merits in a Canadian history; the complete omission of any reference to the exposed position in which Canada found herself on the occasion of the Venezuelan controversy and to Canadian opinion in that crisis; and the omission, again, of any attempt to examine what can be said in defense of President Roosevelt in 1903 are all significant. By these omissions Canada is artificially isolated from the current of world affairs, and a heaven-sent opportunity is neglected of teaching school children that the foreign policy of any country, if examined without reference to its domestic political and economic situation, will appear in an abominable light. It is rather important to do this, as the main trend of serious Canadian criticism of the policies of the United States (*note* pp. 15, 197, 269,) is to contend that the foreign policy of that country is affected in such an excessive degree by the vicissitudes of domestic politics as to be unreliable, and even a menace to the rest of the world. But the doctrine that it is better to understand than to forgive has an unchristian flavor, and historians who wrote in this strain might find that their works were not authorized for use in schools. Meanwhile, should a precocious boy or girl ask how a thinly veiled charge that the President of the United States intimidated, by a threat of war, a judge before whom his country was with its own consent engaged in litigation, can be reconciled with the statement that the United States and Canada have enjoyed "an uninterrupted period of friendly relations" for more than a century, it is left to the teacher to explain that in dealing with international relations the word "friendly" has a technical meaning and implies nothing more than the absence of a state of war.

CHAPTER III

AMERICAN INFLUENCES ON SOCIAL INSTITUTIONS IN CANADA

I. *Introduction.*

Many Canadian social institutions, especially in the older provinces of Canada, have been built up under circumstances which rendered inevitable a profound influence by similar institutions already existing in parts of the United States. We have already had occasion to mention the growth of municipal institutions in Ontario. (*See* p. 48.) While the subject is one which cannot be examined in detail in the present work, it seems necessary to give some illustrations of the cultural contacts which, during the course of more than a century, have exercised some effect on the growth of Canadian social institutions. For this purpose, we have taken as our example the institutions concerned with providing universal education, the development of which was particularly vigorous on the North American continent; the institutions of organized religion, in which European influences might have been expected to play a larger part; and the evolution in recent times of labor organizations, which have had to take a very definite stand on the questions whether their scope is to be national, binational, or broadly international. In the first two cases our studies have been made entirely in Ontario, partly because it is one of the older Provinces, partly because cultural contact with the United States was particularly important during the formative period of these social institutions. In the third case, while the primary study has been made in Ontario because it is the chief industrial Province of Canada, a secondary study has been made in the Maritime Provinces because there the conflict between national and international labor organizations has been of special interest.

II. *Institutions of Education in Ontario.* (By Alexander Brady.)

For reasons which were explained in an earlier chapter (*see* pp. 41-50), American influences upon the institutions of religion and education in Canada have been particularly potent in the Province of Ontario, and it is therefore in this Province that a

detailed study has been made. At the outset the influences were naturally those of a more mature and self-confident community upon a younger and weaker one. Notably is this the case in the development of popular education. The Loyalist and post-Loyalist immigrants came to Upper Canada with a tenacious belief in the common school, maintained by the community, and destined to provide all with the rudiments of an education. North American Puritanism, and the democratic ideals which sprang from it, emphasized a common school as an essential element in an organized society, and through the early American immigrants this democratic emphasis entered and became firmly lodged in Upper Canada, with its accompanying excessive confidence in the efficacy of educational machinery. But the official class were less concerned with institutions to facilitate the emergence of a democratic society than with grammar schools and a university to enable potential leaders of society to be educated without proceeding to the United States. Some conservatives were inclined to attack the common state school as being of the same noxious breed as American political institutions. In the ensuing clash of attitudes, American example was invoked on the one side and assailed on the other. As late as 1836 a bill to establish common schools sent up from the assembly to the legislative council was rejected by the latter body as being "nearly, if not altogether, a transcript of the school law now in operation in the neighboring state of New York."[1] The cause of the common school under the guiding influence of Egerton Ryerson finally triumphed, and a cultural inheritance of the older northern states was absorbed into the Upper Canadian community, with results significant not merely to that Province but to the other Provinces, which later assimilated the basic elements of the Ontario public-school system.

Doubtless a system of popular education would eventually have arisen in Ontario without influence from the United States, but we are concerned with the fact that in the actual process of events that influence was profound. A typical argument, ceaselessly used, was to the effect that across the frontier were states where the existence of common schools had become almost universal, and that

1. J. G. Hodgins, *Historical Educational Papers and Documents Illustrative of the Educational System of Ontario*, 1792–1853 (Toronto, 1911–12), I, p. 62.

what American citizens possessed those of Canada were entitled to have. Moreover, in the actual building of the system Ryerson derived many positive features from the educational institutions of the neighboring states: the methods of administration from New York, the principle of local taxation from Massachusetts, and from the United States generally the non-denominational character of elementary and secondary education. But this borrowing was not wholesale and undiscriminating; for example, no attempt was made to follow the American practice of choosing by election superintendents of schools or other administrative officials. Ryerson was strongly of the opinion that the American methods of electing officials led to instability and inefficiency in educational policy.[2]

Indicative also of American influence has been the wide use of school books published in the United States. The Loyalists and post-Loyalists brought with them the texts used in their former homes, and the liberal inflow of such texts continued long after immigration had ceased, indeed to the fifth decade of the nineteenth century. Some of these were patterned upon original English books. Others were definitely North American and showed scant respect for the institutions of such an aristocratic state as England. Complaints by members of the official class at the republican sentiments expressed in these were perennial. Dr. Thomas Rolph traveled through Upper Canada in 1832–1833, and complained:

> It is really melancholy to traverse the province and go into many of the common schools; you find a herd of children instructed by some anti-British adventurer, instilling into the young and tender mind sentiments hostile to the parent state; false accounts of the late war in which Great Britain was engaged with the United States; geography setting forth New York, Philadelphia, Boston, etc., as the largest and finest cities in the world; historical reading books, describing the American population as the most free and enlightened under heaven; and American spelling-books, dictionaries and grammar, teaching them an anti-British dialect and idiom.[3]

Egerton Ryerson, on becoming superintendent of education, checked the inflow of texts, for much as he might esteem the common

2. For remarks by Ryerson *see* J. G. Hodgins, *Historical Educational Papers and Documents* (Toronto, 1911–12), II, pp. 56, 291–292.

3. J. G. Hodgins, *Documentary History of Education in Upper Canada* (Toronto, 1895), III, p. 3, footnote.

schools of the United States, he endeavored to bring into use books other than American, and turned to those of the National Schools of Ireland as being most suitable for Upper Canada. But the influence of American texts by no means disappeared. After Confederation there was a feeling that school readers should help to instil national feeling in the youth of Ontario, and the *Ryerson Readers*, compiled in Canada, were designed in part to achieve this patriotic end. Significantly, they clearly reveal the influence of the famous *McGuffey Readers* of the United States, which were regarded as eminently successful in cultivating national spirit in the Republic. In Ryerson's *Third Reader*, for example, some of the stories with unvarnished morals attached were evidently taken over from the *McGuffey Readers*.[4] But there was a difference. The *Ryerson Readers* were more restrained in attempting to cultivate national feeling. They did not glorify Canada with the exuberance with which the *McGuffey Readers* glorified the United States. To have done so in the years after 1867 would have seemed to many in Ontario base disloyalty to the Imperial tie.

Ryerson's policy, especially in the later period of his superintendency, significantly reflected a growing maturity in community thought regarding education. No longer was Ontario merely a cultural frontier of the United States in a spontaneous and unreflective way. There had grown up a disposition to consider that while Ontario might copy some features of American educational policies, yet it must exercise choice; it must not slavishly take over practices from either the United States or Great Britain; its educational system must be distinct. Such has been the dominant outlook from Ryerson's era to the present. American educational practices are watched closely by the authorities in Ontario. To the meetings of the Ontario Education Association experts from the United States are often invited to expound their views, and no doubt they exercise some influence. But a traditional and rather rigid body of thought exists in the Province in regard to educational matters, and it is altered or augmented only after considerable discussion. The Province has its own mind, and like the mind of Ryerson it may and does choose much from the United States, but with reservations.

4. *See* remarks of William Sherwood Fox in "School Readers as an Educational Force," *Queen's Quarterly* (November, 1932), p. 688.

American influence has been less directly revealed in the universities of Ontario than in the public schools, although here also it has been significant.[5] A provincial university was originally planned by Governor Simcoe and the official class in order that ambitious Canadian youths might not have to seek a training in the United States. King's College when established was to serve this purpose, and from the outset the dominant influence within it was British.[6] As King's College grew into the modern University of Toronto, the same influence survived, but with ever-dwindling force, owing to the fact that in adjusting itself to the prevalent social forces of the continent it found British academic theory and example of less direct and feasible application. "The State University," remarks Sir Robert Falconer, "is the greatest contribution made so far by the United States to higher education."[7] Like other public institutions of higher learning in Canada, the University of Toronto found it increasingly necessary to assimilate the experience of the leading state universities. Variously this fact might be illustrated, notably in the work of organization which followed the crucial report of the Royal Commission on the university in 1905–1906. This Commission was appointed in a period when the university had severely suffered from defective administration, and when a new system was urgent. It visited the leading universities of the United States, gathered extensive data on their operation, and in its report emphasized certain of their positive features which were lacking in the University of Toronto. First, in the successfully administered state universities, the government invariably delegated power to trustees or regents, rather than exercised it directly through a minister of education. Second, and intimately linked to the former, the government provided some stable source of income for the university. Third, the

5. *See* articles by Sir Robert Falconer in *Proceedings and Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada*, 3rd series, XXI, p. 23; *Canadian Historical Review* (June, 1927), pp. 99–118; and "From College to University," *University of Toronto Quarterly*, October, 1935, pp. 1–20.

6. *See*, for example, *The University of Toronto and Its Colleges*, 1827–1906 (Toronto, 1906); also, W. S. Wallace, *History of the University of Toronto*, 1827–1927 (Toronto, 1927).

7. *Proceedings and Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada*, 3rd series, XXIV, p. 24.

institutions with the most effective administration were those where wide powers were concentrated in the president.

Supported by such American experience the Commission urged recommendations which resulted in the modern administrative organization of the university. It is fair to admit, however, that American example was not the sole basis for the new régime, for shrewd observers in Ontario had for some years suggested departures similar to those actually made. The significance of American example in this, as in many other phases of Ontario life, was that it encouraged a given policy by lending compelling force to prevalent ideas within the local community.

One outstanding educational institution now federated with the University of Toronto revealed in early times special American influences. Victoria College, like many similar Methodist academies in the United States, was launched solely on the basis of voluntary aid and where possible private endowment. At the outset most of its instructors were trained in the colleges of the United States; such, for example, were the three leading men who constituted the core of its early faculty, Hurlburt, Van Norman and Kingston. Of these a later president of the college wrote: "They are all men who had been in touch with educational institutions of the United States, especially New England and Pennsylvania, and they had fully imbibed the practical and progressive ideas and methods in use there."[8] In 1850, S. S. Nelles, who had received his advanced training in Wesleyan University, Middletown, Connecticut, was appointed principal and held the office till 1887, a period within which various features of American colleges were introduced, especially the requirement of sixteen units of five hours for the B.A. degree and the emphasis on the value of a "general" course.[9] Nelles was succeeded by N. Burwash, a graduate of Victoria with post-graduate work at Yale, who retained the presidency till 1913. That Victoria in its early history should thus have received its

8. N. Burwash, *History of Victoria College* (Toronto, 1927), p. 74.

9. *See* N. Burwash, *History of Victoria College* (Toronto, 1927), p. 188; Sir Robert Falconer, *Proceedings and Transactions of the Royal Society*, 3rd series, XXIV (Ottawa, 1930), p. 30; also *The Old Ontario Strand; Victoria's Hundred Years* (Toronto, 1936), which contains a series of addresses and lectures on Victoria's centenary.

main intellectual stimulus from academic centers to the south is natural enough, not merely owing to contiguity but to the fact that the vigorous Methodism of the United States was much quicker in building up institutions of higher learning than Methodism in England. Victoria had to make its way under conditions somewhat similar to those of many Methodist colleges in the United States, and naturally it sought in them sympathy and an example.

In recent times all the universities of Ontario have revealed the blended influences of Great Britain and the United States, but American influence has separately become more pervasive and effective. The situation in Ontario is little different from what it is elsewhere in Canada. The growth of the richly endowed American graduate schools has drawn young Canadian scholars to their seminars, with inevitable effects on the methods and objectives of scholarship in the Dominion. But perhaps more important have been those pressures which arise from similar economic and social conditions on both sides of the frontier. The relatively low fees have made possible a higher education to large numbers of the middle class, and in college these behave like the same classes in the United States. Unless prohibited by formal regulations, they join fraternities, alike in character even where they are not actually chapters of the American organizations; they read large numbers of periodicals published in New York and Philadelphia[10]; they use extensively American college texts; they play somewhat similar games, and have begun to develop international competition in some of these; the practice is common, as in the United States, for undergraduates to work at manual or clerical jobs in the summer rather than to study; in brief, the college students in Ontario are in various ways indistinguishable from those south of the border, however different may be the educational programs of their institutions.

III. *Religious Institutions in Ontario.*

Equally important with the influence of educational institutions have been the cultural exchanges between religious bodies in Ontario

10. A questionnaire was submitted to 697 undergraduates in the University of Toronto, and it was found that 24 per cent expressed a preference for American magazines, 12 per cent for British, and 26 per cent for Canadian. The remainder felt unable to express a preference.

and the United States.[11] The Church of England in Canada has naturally had least contact across the border; its ministry and members have mainly looked to the British Isles for inspiration and assistance, and from the outset it has been in the Province one of the strongest of anglifying agencies and, to the best of its powers, a barrier to cultural influences from the United States. Even in the retention of its own anomalous title, it is scrupulous to avoid any appearance of weakening the bonds with the Motherland. The Presbyterian congregations in Ontario have similarly felt, although to a less extent, special attachments to the British Isles because of the establishment of Presbyterianism in Scotland; they have believed almost as firmly as the adherents of the Church of England that in Great Britain they have a mother church whence they must seek guidance and help. The Roman Catholic Church has, of course, its principal roots in Europe, but in Ontario it has in some matters intimate bonds with the United States, especially in the work of such a distinctively North American organization as the Paulist Fathers, who have been influential in the Province. Not a few Ontarians go to the novitiates and Catholic houses of study in such cities as Washington and Chicago, and later return to pastorates in their native Province, while on the other hand the Basilian College, St. Michael's, in Toronto, is a recognized center of medieval studies throughout the continent, maintaining through its graduates contact with Roman Catholic activities in various parts of the neighboring country. Catholic life in Ontario significantly has much closer bonds with the United States than with the sister Province of Quebec, for the strong Irish element in the priesthood of Ontario naturally finds more in common with the same numerous element in the priesthood of the United States than with the French of Quebec.[12]

But, among the most important denominations, two yet to be mentioned have had the most direct and significant relations with the United States, the Baptist and the Methodist; and for evident

11. This topic will be treated in a separate volume in this series.

12. The Catholic students in the University of Toronto have their Newman Club, federated with hundreds of similar clubs in the universities of the United States, and through such federation promoting personal intercourse between its members and young American Catholics. *See* C. E. Silcox and M. F. Galen, *Catholics, Jews and Protestants* (New York, 1934), p. 224.

reasons the Methodist must claim prior attention.[13] If Methodism in Ontario is to seek its mother church, it might well look across the international border. With a natural appeal to Puritan America and an exceptional capacity through its itinerant preachers in adapting itself to the frontier, Methodism at the end of the eighteenth century rapidly became a vital force in the republic and flowed over into Upper Canada, where the frontier conditions gave it every scope for expansion. Some of the Loyalist and post-Loyalist immigrants were of the Methodist persuasion, and numerous others, who were not Methodists when they entered the country, soon fell under the influence of these vigorous itnerant preachers whose exploits are told in a manner somewhat reminiscent of Herodotus in the volumes of John Carroll's *Case and His Contemporaries.* (Toronto, 1867–1877.) For almost a generation after the coming of the early settlers, the Methodist organization ignored the boundary line, for preachers and people were incorporated within the conferences of the northern United States. Jealous of American Methodist Episcopal influence, the British Wesleyans sent missionaries to Canada who precipitated the issue of British versus American affiliation. A compromise in 1820 recognized that the British Wesleyans should restrict themselves to Lower Canada, while the Methodist Episcopal Church of the United States retained occupation of Upper Canada. But the compromise did not endure. In 1824 the Methodists of the Province, partly to clear themselves of the charge of disloyalty because of their outside ties, organized a separate Canadian Conference, which was followed in 1828 by the formation of an independent church, the Episcopal Methodist Church in Canada. In the succeeding years the principal body of Methodism in Ontario was drawn closer to the British Wesleyans, notably in the union with the British Conference in 1833, accompanied by the adoption of various details of organization and practice, especially the appointment of an annual president to replace the episcopacy.[14]

13. Another sect, small but influential, which entered Upper Canada from the United States with the earliest settlers was the Society of Friends. Its intimate relations with the United States have been described by A. G. Dorland, *A History of the Society of Friends in Canada* (Toronto, 1927).

14. *See,* for the history of Methodism in Ontario, C. B. Sissons, *Egerton Ryerson: His Life and Letters* (Toronto, 1937); J. E. Sanderson, *The First Century of Methodism in Canada* (Toronto, 1908–1910).

But even after the severance from American organizations, Methodism in Ontario continued to share a vast common life with that in the neighboring states, illustrated by the frequent visits of American divines to Canadian conferences and *vice versa;* the exchange of pulpits at border points; the reading in Ontario of American Methodist publications, especially those which circulated through the Sunday schools; the growing emphasis in both countries on a social gospel in the place of revivalist enthusiasm; the adoption of like methods in the attack on the liquor trade, white slavery, and race-track gambling; and finally the close bonds between American Methodist colleges and Victoria College. With the growing tendency in the latter part of the nineteenth century to achieve unity within itself, Methodism in Canada assumed greater self-reliance in relation to both the United States and Great Britain, but where the problems confronting it were similar to those confronting the church in the United States its action was influenced by what was done in that country. A notable instance was the attack on the liquor trade, for in both countries the Methodist Church assumed a leadership and adopted similar procedures.

The union of the Methodist Church with the Presbyterian and Congregational bodies in 1925 did not weaken contacts with the United States, despite the fact that the union arose from an impulse to create a national church in Canada. The Protestant groups which entered the union had been silently moving in a somewhat common North American direction, and union has probably merely stimulated the process. Symptomatic is the fact that the United Church has become affiliated with the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, a coöperative organization established to promote the numerous common ends, of which more than twenty important Protestant churches in the United States have become conscious.[15] Symptomatic also is the fact that the United Church since 1925 has used the syndicated material, artistic and literary, issued by the Church School Publications House of the Methodist Episcopal Church, Cincinnati. Thus, at the time of writing, some 400,000 church-school students of the United Church in Canada have substantially the same reading material as some 3,500,000 students

15. *See Annual Report of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America,* 1933.

in the United States, and this fact is not considered anomalous or inconsistent with the national character of the United Church.

The Baptist churches in Ontario illustrate further strands of relationship with the United States. Some Baptists came with the early American immigration, especially with those to the Niagara Peninsula and western Ontario, and continued to maintain relations, however loose, with their co-religionists in the United States, where were to be found the greatest number of Baptists in the English-speaking world.[16] Since then American influences on the Baptist community of Ontario have been varied and continuous. Perhaps the most important has been that exercised by contiguous American Baptist colleges in the training of preachers and leaders. Notable among these leaders in the nineteenth century was the Reverend R. A. Fyfe, described by the historian of the denomination as "the greatest name in Canadian Baptist history."[17] Fyfe was a Canadian by birth, but educated in Worcester Academy and Newton Theological Institution, Massachusetts. His principal achievement was to organize the Baptists of the Province to make a drive for a college of higher learning independent of institutions supported by the state. The ultimate result has been McMaster University, founded in 1887, whose main intellectual contacts from early days to the present have been with the Baptist colleges of the northern United States. Men trained in Great Britain have held positions on its faculty, but traditionally the majority of those with training outside of Canada, especially those in the field of theology, have received it in the United States. In return McMaster has had a remarkable number of graduates who have attained distinguished positions in American colleges and churches, particularly in such institutions as Rochester Theological Seminary, Yale Divinity School, and the theological school of the University of Chicago.[18] The *McMaster Alumni Directory* amply illustrates the impressive number of McMaster graduates who hold important pastorates in the United States.

16. In the early years of the nineteenth century the Baptist Associations in the United States shouldered the responsibility of sending pastors to congregations on the Canadian side of the frontier. This fact is illustrated in the records of Beamsville Church, probably the oldest Baptist church in Upper Canada.

17. E. R. Fitch, *The Baptists of Canada* (Toronto, 1911), p. 159.

18. *See McMaster University Alumni Directory*, 1930.

There has scarcely ever been a thoroughly united and homogeneous Baptist community in Ontario, and it is likely that the lack of such unity encourages in the diverse groups close relations with similar Baptist groups in the United States. Kinship in ideas is sought outside the country. At any rate, American influences play differently upon the various portions of the Baptist group in Ontario. In the period after the World War the Baptists of Ontario, long disturbed by the issue of Fundamentalism and Modernism, were sharply split into two camps, and significantly this disruption was the reflection of like violent issues which threatened in the same period to break the Southern and Northern Baptist Conventions of the United States. The camp which represented the majority of churches came to be known as the Baptist Convention of Ontario and Quebec. Its members were inclined to Modernism, and supported McMaster University. The Sunday-school papers of the convention were published in Philadelphia, and were identical with those which circulated to the Sunday schools of the Northern Baptist Convention of the United States.

The Fundamentalist camp was itself split into two groups: the Union of Regular Baptist Churches of Ontario and Quebec, and the Fellowship of Independent Baptist Churches. The doctrinal divergence between the two was not clear; the difference resting chiefly in the personalities of the leaders. From the point of view of this survey, the significant fact is that both portions of the Fundamentalist camp sought their external contact in the more conservative Baptist groups of the United States.

At the time of writing, the dominating personality in the Union of Regular Baptist Churches is Dr. T. T. Shields, the pastor of an old Baptist congregation in Toronto. Although Dr. Shields is an Englishman by birth, he has intimate relations with Baptist organizations, and has been given numerous pulpit appointments throughout the Republic, especially in Texas, Kentucky, and other states of the South. He was for long president of the Baptist Bible Union of North America, an organization of churches and individuals in the United States and Canada, formed to combat the tendencies towards Modernism in the two countries. The international character of this organization is significant in indicating a group within the Baptist community of both countries so fully in agreement that an inter-

national organization was considered essential. Dr. Shields in Ontario has devoted his considerable energy to expounding those ideas and methods of procedure within the church which Fundamentalists, like Dr. Frank Norris, have expounded with equal energy in the Baptist churches of the United States. William Jennings Bryan was no more uncompromising in his attack on the doctrines of evolution than Dr. Shields, and no American Fundamentalist has been more zealous in seeking purity of doctrine in college teachers. It would be wrong to assume that his outlook and that of his followers on these matters have been entirely determined by American example, but there is little doubt that he and they appreciate greatly the fellowship of American Fundamentalists. "The influence of the United States" is in this case the sympathy of a large body of Americans who think similarly to the small body of Canadians, and by that similarity in thought strengthen Canadian conviction in the matter.[19]

IV. *Institutions of Organized Labor.*

(i) *In Ontario.*

In an earlier chapter (p. 48) reference was made to the importance of the relation of organized labor in Ontario to organized labor in the United States, particularly in connection with the international craft unions. While these are not peculiar to Ontario, yet, naturally, a high proportion of their more stable branches have been concentrated in the towns and cities of that Province, which is thus the natural field for our main study of the influence of these unions. The secondary industries of Ontario developed in the relatively narrow ribbon of territory which stretches for fifty or seventy-five miles back from the lakes and rivers of the frontier, contiguous to important industrial centers in the United States. From early times there was an inevitable trans-frontier movement of labor, and without coöperative action the aims of labor unions on both

19. This study applies mainly to Ontario. It may be of interest to compare the reference to the relations of the ministerial associations of border communities which appears in the discussion of opinion in rural Manitoba, *see* p. 420 and with the results of questionnaires in British Columbia which did not make the Ministerial Association appear in any degree more "American" than other professional groups. *See* Chapter XIX.

sides of the frontier would often have been frustrated. The numerically weaker groups of Canadian laborers found an almost irresistible attraction in affiliating with a powerful movement, commanding extensive resources on the American side of the frontier. Through such affiliation strike funds would be larger, insurance more practicable and cheaper, sickness and old-age benefits more attainable, while the international traveling card would be of value to those members attracted by the conditions of employment in American cities.

Although some of the early unions in Ontario were the offspring of parent organizations in the British Isles, the indigenous unions came to look not across the Atlantic for coöperative aid but across the frontier. By 1860 some unions of the period had developed relations with bodies in the United States, mainly by the use of transfer cards and recognition of members in good standing who might cross the frontier. In the 'sixties and 'seventies, American organizations began to establish branches in Ontario, and in the 'eighties became more energetic in doing so.[20] Not merely the craft unions thus emerged; the Knights of Labor invaded the Province, but significantly at the end of the century, when the pendulum in the United States had swung decisively in favor of the American Federation of Labor, the Knights rapidly lost ground in Canada. In brief, organized labor in Ontario responded closely to the patterns of behavior of American labor. The labor movement in that Province, as elsewhere in Canada, came definitely within continental influences and reveals those influences today.

It is not within the scope of this study to examine the details of labor organizations or the precise relations of the international craft unions in Ontario with those in the United States.[21] It is sufficient to point out that machinery of coöperation has been evolved which the leaders of the movement claim to be successful in reconciling local autonomy with those international bonds essential for security in trade-union benefits. Numerous trade-union officials

20. H. A. Logan, *The History of the Trade Union Organization in Canada*, Chapter II (Chicago, 1928); R. H. Coats, *Canada and Its Provinces* (Toronto, 1914), IX.

21. This topic is treated in a separate volume in this series, *Labor in Canadian-American Relations*, (Toronto, 1937).

who were interviewed made this claim. But there are leaders of labor in Ontario, as in other Provinces, who plead the cause of national unions built on the assumption that the final seat of sovereignty of unions operating in Canada must be in Canada. The word "national" does not imply that these unions are the product of a vigorous nationalism, nurtured in antagonism to things American solely on the ground that they are foreign; and yet national sentiment and a certain distrust of Americans are to some extent exploited by the leaders. They have emerged in revolt against the internationals mainly because their leaders object to certain practical features in the organization and operation of the latter; they stand in many cases for a form of industrial rather than craft-unionism; they feel that the highly paid executives of the international crafts cannot understand local conditions, and are out of touch with the labor problem in its Canadian setting. In many cases in Ontario the national unions are the product of unhappy incidents in the attempt to reconcile local autonomy with the jurisdiction of the international executives, and secession from an international usually means only the establishment of a national union. One official of an international union in Toronto remarked to the writer that national unions are generally the work of disgruntled officials who, after failing to get their own way, attempt to exalt themselves by establishing national units. On the other hand, representatives of the nationals claim that they have usually been forced to organize national unions because of the crafty manner in which executives in the United States exploit Canadian workmen. But throughout there is no substantial evidence that the leaders are actuated by a genuinely strong national spirit, arising out of antagonism towards the United States.

The broad influence of the international craft unions in developing among their members favorable attitudes towards the United States is duly emphasized by the leaders. A number of trade-union secretaries in Toronto, all born in Great Britain, confessed that their varied contacts with American unionists had given them an understanding of the United States otherwise impossible to obtain. One leader remarked that although he was born and brought up in England, he found himself in much greater sympathy with the trade unionists whom he met at sessions of the American Federation of Labor than with those whom he met as a fraternal delegate visiting

the British Trades Union Congress. And Mr. Tom Moore, President of the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada, remarked: "The constant interchange of information as to the problems of workers both in the United States and Canada, which membership in international unions provides, creates a bond of friendship that has over a long period of time made almost impossible and certainly unthinkable the settlement of any international dispute between Canada and the United States except by pacific means."

(ii) *In the Maritime Provinces.* (By H. L. Stewart.)

The situation which has been described in general terms in Ontario has its counterpart elsewhere in Canada. The following study has been made of the relations of Canadian and American labor leaders in the Maritime Provinces. There, too, labor is organized in both international and Canadian unions. Rivalry, at times hostility, between these groups may always create national ill-feeling, and such organs as the *Canadian Unionist*, the organ of the All-Canadian Congress of Labor, a smaller nationalist group, from time to time publish fierce articles on "The Price of Foreign Control."

It is difficult to be sure of the respective strengths of the two sorts of labor organization, each of which disputes sharply the figures issued by the other, besides suggesting that a really "free" vote would show an overwhelming preponderance on its own side. The report of the Canadian Department of Labor for 1933 gives the number of branches as follows:

	International Organizations	*Canadian Organizations*
Nova Scotia	92	55
New Brunswick	86	32
Prince Edward Island	4	7

The leading categories of workers thus organized are miners, railwaymen, and builders of all sorts.

The conflict of international and national unions has been keenest among the miners, and its history must be briefly traced. The earliest organizations were purely Canadian. The Provincial Workmen's Association, founded in Nova Scotia in 1879, aimed at being a general labor organization, though it began with the miners and they

alone remained faithful to it during the last decade of its existence. Its traditions were British rather than American, and it was successful in its persistent efforts to reform labor laws. It was ultimately the conflict between the miners and the Dominion Coal Company which determined its members to seek the powerful support of the international organizations. The Provincial Workmen's Association, true to its national character, had joined in 1909 the Canadian Federation of Labor, which had been formed a year earlier. From the outset French influence from Quebec was dominant in it. The industrial interests of Quebec and of Eastern Canada were in sharp conflict, for the industries of Quebec demanded cheap coal. Thus the international union was more likely than the Canadian to oppose the Dominion Coal Company. With the need for effective support in strikes was combined the attraction of the cheaper insurance, out-of-work pay, sickness and old-age benefits which an international union could offer. In matters of collective bargaining the Dominion Coal Company persistently refused to recognize the United Mineworkers of America, the international union. But lodge after lodge seceded from the Provincial Association, and in 1917 the Provincial Workmen's Association became affiliated, as District No. 26, with the United Mineworkers of America.

From 1928 to 1936 the All-Canadian Congress of Labor included the Canadian Federation of Labor. It aimed at breaking the bonds which, for ten years, had united the Canadian and American workmen. The international unions are attacked on the ground that enormous sums are sent out of the country in dues and assessments.[22] The return is "a mass of anti-national propaganda."[23] But the main attack is upon the reactionary spirit of the American labor movement which has made the United States "the most socially backward of all industrial countries." It is this spirit which makes American labor refuse to seek direct representation in Congress, and leads it to rely on the old parties, which are dominated by selfish interests. Boycotts and sabotage, blacklists and bombs are the inevitable alternative where the workers have no legitimate channel through which to make their grievances effectively known. The pretended

22. "Three or four million dollars" a year, according to the *Canadian Unionist*, July, 1931.

23. This is strongly contested by the U. M. W.

brotherhood did not keep Americans from setting up an immigration barrier at the outset of the depression.[24] The *Canadian Unionist* denounces the Trade and Labor Congress as the mere hirelings of American taskmasters, and its President, Mr. Tom Moore, as an agent of the United States Government. It ridicules his plea that the northern and southern sections of the continent hold essentially one people.[25] The All-Canadian Congress of Labor is represented as opposing an effective obstacle to the amalgamation propaganda of the "American Imperialists."[26] It must be remembered that the *Canadian Unionist* is edited in Toronto. In Nova Scotia the "obsolete nationalism" of some of its arguments is apt to be contemptuously dismissed. It vigorously fosters a tendency to represent the American unions as treacherous and as covert agents of capitalism, and to see in the United States the great enemy of internationalism.

But the collieries, though the largest single industry in Eastern Canada, do not monopolize the whole field. Apart from the miners and a section of the railway employees, the organized labor of the Maritime Provinces is nearly all in the international unions. The leaders of other groups point out that the miners have had special reasons for being restive and quick to bring unreasonable charges against their leaders, for the miners have suffered particularly during the depression. Within these international unions the belief is that their international character has helped to maintain very friendly relations with American labor and with the United States. In the Canadian unions the opposite belief is expressed, and it is said that affiliation with American unions leads to constant friction and jealousy. Indeed, it is obvious enough that men who find the American labor movement reactionary cannot accept as their idea of internationalism a binationalism which is dominantly American.

V. *Relation of Institutions to Opinion.*

The purpose of this chapter has been to give an idea of the way in which the social environment in which Canadians move has been influenced by contacts with the United States. The similarities which have been produced are significant in a study of opinions and

24. *Canadian Unionist*, July, 1933.
25. *Ibid.*, January, 1933.
26. *Ibid.*, May, 1933.

attitudes. They could only have evolved in communities which were friendly and intimate. They have in turn increased the friendliness and intimacy, so that Canadians and Americans usually meet not as nationals of different states but as members of the same social organization or of closely allied organizations. They do not view each other with the curiosity which is the natural feeling to exist between foreigners, but they meet as men and women who have much in common, and whose common interests readily establish friendship between them. To Canadians and Americans this may seem very obvious, hardly worth saying, and still less worth proving by an account of representative institutions. But it explains something which Canadians do not always find it easy to explain. It makes it comprehensible that so many should exclaim: "We like the Americans we know, but we do not like the United States." The United States has been and is a foreign nation; we have seen (pp. 62-80) that it has not always been a friendly nation. But Canadians and Americans as individuals have always been friendly, and one reason for this is that so many of the social groups to which they belong are similar in structure and that (if we make an exception for the state itself) their social environment is remarkably similar. This intimacy is not merely a matter of North Americanism. It is, for instance, not in the least true of French Canada. Nor is it merely racial or linguistic, for the resemblance is often closer between Canadian and American than between Canadian and English. It is in the main the result of the century of easy intercourse which has been made possible by geographical propinquity, a common language, and a century of peace. It grew up when Canadian nationalism was hardly existent as a force of resistance, and before the modern press, the motion pictures, and radio programs had exerted the influences which we shall have to study in later chapters.

CHAPTER IV

EDUCATION

I. *Introduction.*

It is no more possible in a study of this character to trace in detail the development of Canadian education than it is to trace the development of the Canadian press. It is, however, worth remembering that when the elder statesmen of Canada were schoolboys Canadian history was not taught in Canadian schools and that even at the turn of the century Imperial loyalties received greater emphasis than Canadian.[1]

Our immediate concern is with the present rather than the past. The type of education which a democracy commands or permits is in itself an indication of the trend of opinion. In the present chapter we shall try to give a picture of the sort of influence which Canadian schools exert. Subsequently we shall return to our observation of the schools to see what can be learned there as to the general state of opinion in the country. (Chapter XVI.)

II. *The Quantum of Teaching About the United States.*

(i) *In Canadian Schools.*

It must strike any detached observer that the amount of formal instruction which Canadian children receive about the United States is extraordinarily slight, and that if Canadians are as well informed about the United States as they often claim to be, their knowledge must be derived, for good or ill, from other sources. However, the schools do impart some information concerning the United States and its people, and, while in no Province of Canada does the curriculum comprise systematic instruction designed to develop a balanced and comprehensive understanding of the United States, some ideas about that country are to be found in the courses on geography, history, civics, and literature. This instruction varies greatly as between the Provinces. The textbooks are not similar. The amount of space devoted to the United States is not the same in the different books. The teaching time involved in dealing

1. *See* V. P. Seary, "Nova Scotian Culture Fifty Years Ago," *Dalhousie Review*, October, 1935.

with the United States varies greatly. It is highest in British Columbia, Ontario, and Prince Edward Island, and lowest in Quebec and New Brunswick. The age at which the school children receive the instruction is not the same from Province to Province. For instance, in British Columbia, world history is taught in grades VII to XII inclusive, but the section on the United States is not reached until grade XII, when the pupils are preparing for university matriculation. Thus, while those pupils who learn something about American history do so at a relatively mature age, the large numbers who never reach grade XII learn nothing at all about it. In Manitoba and Nova Scotia, world history is taught in grade IX only, and whatever information is given about the United States reaches a wider circle. Finally, in some Provinces the subjects of study in which the United States is mentioned are obligatory for all pupils, while in others they are confined to those who elect to take them. This is as far as generalizations will take us. A somewhat detailed survey of the schools has been made by Mr. W. G. Black, and the relevant information can be presented in a compact form. (Pages 120–123.)

The figures tell their own story. In geography and history the United States receives no fuller treatment in Canadian schools than it might reasonably receive in schools anywhere in the world; nor do American authors or American scenes receive more than their fair share of attention in courses on the literature of the English language. And yet there is a comment which must be made on this allocation of teaching time. Whether by accident or design it effects a compromise between the views of those who think it excessive (because American schools do not reciprocate by according a corresponding importance to Canada), and those who think it utterly inadequate (because of the probable importance of American affairs in the lives of the pupils who are being taught; or because of the need of supplying a background of systematic knowledge for the impressions which these pupils are certain to receive from American periodicals, American films, American radio programs and everyday contact with Americans). The compromise is obviously an unstable compromise and naturally follows different lines in different Provinces.

We are, perhaps, anticipating in suggesting the reason for giving so little formal instruction regarding the United States in Canadian

schools. It is partly, perhaps, a reflection of an opinion, of which we shall find frequent traces, that Canada is in danger of becoming a "vassal state" unless distinct efforts are made to sustain local patriotism.[2] This view is closely related to another, which is even more widespread, that it is humiliating for Canadians to devote more attention to learning about the United States than Americans devote to learning about Canada. (Pages 361 and 438.)

(ii) *In Canadian Universities.* (By H. L. Stewart.)

Even in the universities no very special importance is given to the United States as a subject of study. Despite the considerable proportion of American-trained instructors, it is clear that the universities of the Maritime Provinces make little effort to acquaint the students with what is distinctive in American culture. From the calendars and from the statements of individuals one finds that, in the main, American affairs enter only by way of incidental reference. One course (optional) is offered in American history by Dalhousie and by Acadia, one part-course by St. Francis Xavier, none by Mount Allison or the University of New Brunswick. The history of the United States thus constitutes an incident of history in general, and is noticed mainly in order to render the development of older countries intelligible. For the enormous majority of students, there is no attempt to make American institutions understood *for their own sake.* The center of the stage is held by the older civilizations, especially that of Great Britain, to whose record that of the United States would appear as a sort of footnote or parenthesis.

What has been said of the Maritime universities is substantially true of other Canadian universities. Some of the reasons are obvious enough. Limited resources make a high degree of specialization in instruction impossible. For those who wish a knowledge of American institutions the universities of the United States are readily accessible. To focus attention on the last hundred and fifty years in the United States appears at first sight as an error of scale. A special place must be found for Canadian history, which is naturally an important subject of instruction in the schools, and it seems undesirable to occupy too large a proportion of an undergraduate course

2. *See* A. MacMechan, "Canada as a Vassal State," *Canadian Historical Review,* December, 1920, p. 10.

with the affairs of the North American continent. Finally there is the persistent if not entirely reasonable feeling, which has already been noticed, that no more attention should be given to the United States than Americans give to Canada.

III. *The Teachers, Their Outlook and Their Influence.* (A special study of British Columbia. By H. F. Angus.)

The tone of the instruction which is given in the schools, and the effect which it produces on the minds of the pupils, depend in large measure on the teachers who give it, and it is therefore a matter of some importance to form an idea of the outlook of teachers as a class. The main study of teachers and their attitudes was made in British Columbia on the basis of replies to questionnaires received from 41 representative teachers.

Of the teachers interrogated, 30 had received the greater part of their professional training before coming to British Columbia. The largest single group, 13 in number, came from the Maritime Provinces. From Ontario there were 8, and from Great Britain 7. None of the teachers were Americans, either by birth or by citizenship, but 11 had received part of their training in the United States. Of the 11 whose education had been mainly in British Columbia, no less than 7 had supplemented this education elsewhere. This high proportion is accounted for by two circumstances: the study was confined to prominent teachers; and it is too early for graduates of the University of British Columbia, which was established in 1915, to have reached the higher posts by seniority alone.

The diversity of background and experience among this small group of representative teachers was very great. Those from the British Isles and those from Eastern Canada[3] had, in many instances, spent part of their lives in the United States. That teachers should have belonged to the class of migratory labor is typical of a community in the course of transition from pioneer or frontier conditions to those of a self-sufficing population, and it goes far to explain why the older communities on the North American Continent often appear to British Columbians to know too little of the world outside, and to care too little about it.

3. Eastern Canada is used in this section, in conformity with the usage in British Columbia, to include both the Maritime Provinces and Ontario.

It is of interest to note that the group from Ontario is inclined to prefer conditions there to those in British Columbia, while there is no corresponding tendency in the case of teachers from the Maritime Provinces. Perhaps this contrast corresponds to the relative economic positions of Ontario and the Maritimes, but it is also probable that the Ontarians who have migrated to British Columbia are more inclined to think of Canada as a nation with its center of gravity in Ontario than are their colleagues from the Maritime Provinces, and less likely to identify themselves with the local or provincial viewpoints of their Province of adoption.

As it was possible that American influences, which might otherwise remain undetected, would be disclosed by asking the teachers from what country their greatest professional inspiration and stimulus had come, their opinions on this point were secured. Consciousness of American inspiration was less frequent than training in the United States. One reason for this is that the teachers are naturally quick to say that it is from their teaching experience and from their immediate social contacts that they draw their inspiration. The group from the British Isles is exceptional in this respect and is more inclined to stress its background. Rather significantly it is the only group whose members mention their own schooldays as a particularly happy time, and relate their love of school to their choice of a profession. In Canada and the United States it is the college or university which is likely to be idealized. But, apart from memories of school days, it is noticeable that British influences are never expressly disclaimed, while American influences sometimes are. The answers to the other questions indicate that it is improbable that this contrast is the result of imperialism, or of the wish to pose as patriotic. There is a suggestion that in education American influences are at their weakest on the inspirational or idealistic side and at their strongest in matters of organization and technique. Indeed, in some respects they seem to have been repulsive to those who had part of their training in other countries. The tendency to minimize the influence of the United States is marked in the group which was British Columbian in education, and this is the group that, in course of time, is destined to become dominant. Two members of this group made interesting comments based obviously on personal observation. One noted the high status which teachers

are accorded socially in Alaska; the other had found that his colleagues in the State of Washington seemed to be under greater social pressure than teachers in British Columbia as to the opinions which they might express.

All the groups, except that from the British Isles, put the United States first in the importance of contemporary contributions to educational theory and practice. As several explained that they understood "importance" to mean "importance to British Columbia," their apparent neglect of developments in continental Europe cannot fairly be attributed to ignorance or prejudice. But all the groups, except that from Ontario and the two teachers from the Prairie Provinces, expressed severe criticisms of the quality of the American contributions. *En revanche*, one of the Ontario group, writes of the "resistance [to American influences] of reactionary elements of the population coming from the British Isles."

In estimating the total, as opposed to the contemporary, influences which have molded the educational policy of British Columbia, the Eastern Canadian groups give first place to Eastern Canada, with some recognition of Britain and the United States. Of these countries, Britain gets more recognition from teachers from the Maritime Provinces than from teachers from Ontario. It is noteworthy that the teachers from Great Britain disregard Eastern Canada altogether and divide the honor of inspiring the educational policy of British Columbia equally between Britain and the United States. The preponderance of recent influences from the United States is recognized by every group, and special emphasis is placed on the influence of the Pacific Coast States.

The teachers were invited to express an opinion on the attitudes towards the United States of the children committed to their charge. Their replies, together with other and perhaps more authentic evidence on this subject, will be considered in Chapter XVI. But in giving their replies, the teachers did, to some extent, indicate their own attitudes. There is, for instance, a noticeable tendency for the teachers to assume that any departure, which they detect in the children, from the "correct" attitude of friendliness towards the United States must be explained by something for which the teachers themselves are not answerable. It is thus obvious what the teachers think a desirable atmosphere for the school. There is a distinct

indication, which will be discussed later, of a wish to "teach internationalism" and to begin by using the United States as the nearest example of a foreign nation. There is a latent assumption that to improve the good feeling of Canadians towards the United States would improve their good feeling towards other nations as well, and there is no apprehension whatever of its creating a North-Americanism hostile to Europe or Asia. In the case of Great Britain, on the other hand, the teachers feel that too cordial a relationship might be designated as imperialism, a term which, in pedagogical circles at least, is an insult.

One of the questions that the teachers were invited to answer was: "Should any distinctively Canadian characteristics be fostered? And, if so, what are they? and how should they be fostered?" In spite of the diversity of the replies and of the difficulty of reducing them to a common denominator, this question gave significant results. Only one or two of the teachers contemplate the possibility of there being any undesirable Canadian characteristics. Probably the reticence of the others is to be attributed not so much to professional discretion as to the general, and possibly in itself undesirable, Canadian characteristic enshrined in the phrases, "Don't knock, boost" and "Don't start anything," and more formally described as the absence of a critical spirit.

A relatively large number of teachers (8 out of 41) did not answer the question at all. Silence, in such matters, is difficult to interpret, but, having regard to the general character of the other answers in the questionnaires, we may venture to suggest two explanations: a pardonable diffidence may arise from attaching extreme importance to the expression of one's opinion[4] or from a perception of the vastness of the issue which lies behind the question; and there was undoubtedly, in some cases, a distaste for the apparently nationalistic flavor of the question.

Without endeavoring to include these silent votes, we find a large number of teachers showing a distinct leaning towards "internationalism," while very few of the replies indicated any strong nationalism. It was not fashionable to use the word "patriotic" without strong qualification. In the British Columbian group, only

4. Analogous to the tendency noted in Chapter XV of Canadian authors to be on their good behavior when they write about the United States.

1 answer in 11 approaches a reference to this antiquated emotion. But the answers go much further than mere negation. They carry, on the whole, the suggestion of a strong belief that the possession, or at least the conscious possession, of markedly distinctive characteristics is in itself conducive to nationalism in the political sense and should, therefore, be discouraged. The opposite view, that variety as between nations is more desirable than uniformity, and that it should be an aim of education to make us appreciative of qualities which we do not ourselves possess, is quite neglected. Nor is it perceived that variety is quite consistent with peaceable and even friendly relations. Intellectually this neglect is remarkable because the perpetuation of French culture in Canada is a challenge to the doctrine that uniformity is desirable, and every teacher who answered the questionnaire must have known that he possessed qualities distinguishing him sharply from the great majority of his French-speaking compatriots, though not inconsistent with mutual respect. Probably the neglect of the view that variety has its innocent charms should not be understood as a complete denial of it, but rather as a symptom of concentration of attention, such as a conjurer cultivates in his audience before performing miracles. The attention of the teachers had been concentrated on international peace propaganda and a few blind spots had developed.

In this insistence upon the desirability of uniformity, the British Columbian group is almost unanimous, perhaps because it is the youngest group. At times we seem to be faced with a denial of there being such a thing as the *ethos* of a people, or with a crude belief in the power of education to produce bundles of virtues everywhere the same, so that if some desirable quality has been omitted an educational survey should be undertaken with a view to setting things right. The metaphor that all beautiful flowers must not be mixed in the same garden, or the coarser statement that all good liquors must not be mixed in the same cocktail, might be used to ridicule this view. But ridicule or praise are not to the purpose. It is our business to record that this view is held. The most that can be said by way of comment is that it is an unstable view and unlikely to survive the test of experience. But its very vulnerability is proof of the sincerity with which it is expressed.

Such replies as do indicate that Canadians have some dis-

tinctive qualities stress the peculiarities which are supposed to distinguish them from citizens of the United States. Some of the answers of the teachers from the Maritime Provinces adopt a tone which is almost hostile to that country, and the same is true, though in a lesser degree, of the answers from the groups from Ontario and from the British Isles. This is another instance of concentration of attention, and does not imply any belittling of the difference between Canadian culture and the cultures of Russia or Japan. There is no reference to French-speaking Canada, but this oversight, too, is unintentional and arises from the fact that the word "international" produces the image of a political frontier and not that of a cultural barrier.

The teachers were next asked their opinion of the desirability of increasing the contacts and similarities between Canada and other countries. The general trend of their answers was again unmistakable: good will towards all, charity in our judgments, and internationalism. It was tempered with an occasional suggestion that by increasing their contacts with other countries Canadians may imperil some of the qualities that they wish to keep. However, the teachers' judgments were scarcely realistic. They were ready to advocate more contact with French-speaking Canadians, but no one seriously wished to modify the social or cultural life of English-speaking Canada. Even in the case of Japan and China the dissimilarities which are mentioned by the teachers are dissimilarities in the standard of living. No one, for example, asks Canadians to try to learn from the local Japanese population how to reduce juvenile crime to the low level which prevails in that community. The explanation of the neglect of cultural differences seems to be the belief—in accordance with the ideas as to the desirability of uniformity that if two things are qualitatively different, one must be better than the other. For instance, the education of women in French-speaking Canada is quite different from their education in English-speaking Canada. To the teachers, there seemed to be a real difficulty in recording such a difference, without either an assumption of superiority or an admission of inferiority. Either would be distasteful. The former would appear pharisaical. Yet it need not be pharisaical to say, "I am not as other men," for a blind man can say it with humility, or a red-headed man with detachment. Pharisaism begins when you

thank God about it. There is nothing inflammatory in Madariaga's contrast of Fair Play, Justice, and Honor as the standards of Englishmen, Frenchmen, and Spaniards. But it would be considered "nationalistic" to suggest that there are different standards in Canada and the United States, and the teachers certainly shrink from doing so. They prefer to keep to quantitative differences which seem objective and therefore "scientific."

The opinions of the British Columbian group are remarkably homogeneous on this point, too. They favor, with minor exceptions, wide international contacts and believe that these can do nothing but good. Whatever the merits or demerits of this proposition as a historical judgment, it is inevitable in a democratic community.

There was almost universal agreement among the teachers that international contacts and similarities between nations are in fact increasing. They mention the radio, periodicals, and travel, while the importance of migration as a source of contact is generally overlooked. That self-contained communities are becoming less and less isolated is true. But it is a question how far, in British Columbia, the effects of radio, reading, and travel are offset by the transformation of the community from one constantly reinforced by immigration to one which is self-contained. At least three-quarters of the teachers who answered the questionnaires were themselves in British Columbia as a result of their own migration. But they had forgotten their rôle as representatives of the great world outside, for their eyes were set on the future. Two only mentioned the slowing down of immigration, and of these one described it as "the importation of people with nationalistic prejudices."

IV. *The Outlook of Teachers in Alberta.* (By Mark McClung.)

In Alberta 30 teachers in primary and secondary schools were asked for statements of their personal attitudes towards the United States and the American people. These teachers came from almost every part of the Province, but no regional attitudes appeared, nor were there any differences in attitudes attributable to race, religion or early training in other Provinces.

Admiration is universal for the "energy, optimism, and efficiency" of the typical American. The proofs most frequently cited are the high speed of American life and the patent facts of "material

prosperity," success in economic enterprise, and whole-hearted support of athletics, which characterize American civilization. The American is commended for "friendliness," "courtesy," and "hospitality to strangers," and most of the teachers base their praise on personal experience. Each of these traits, however, has its characteristic form of excess of which the teachers, with almost equal unanimity, disapprove. Economic enterprise degenerates into "pursuit of the almighty dollar," "narrow self-seeking," and "cut-throat competition." The whole-hearted support of athletics engenders a spirit of egoism which infects American sportsmanship and even the play of school children. Friendliness has two cognate excesses: a crude gregariousness which leads to the acceptance of crowd standards of conduct, such as slangy speech, to intrusiveness into private affairs, and to "boisterousness"; and the smiling boastfulness of the American both at home and abroad.

The attitude of the Alberta teachers towards the United States as a political unit and American society is strongly colored by an idea of the two nations as deriving from a common Anglo-Saxon stock. Many describe Great Britain as the mother and the United States and Canada as offspring. Some use the phrases, "our common origin" and "the ties of blood brotherhood," and go on to speak of "our common democratic ideals." These basic similarities have been strengthened by common language and by close similarities in dress, foods, modes of recreation, and sport, so that it is possible to regard the American nation not as a foreign but as a kindred folk. The "unarmed frontier" is viewed with satisfaction and pride, and so is the habitual use of arbitration for the settlement of disputes. Yet there are grounds of criticism, too. "Racketeering," "political and judicial corruption," and confusion in the administration of law are not thought of as matters of similarity. The teachers are unanimous in claiming that Canadian political and judicial institutions are superior in their stability and in the honesty of the officials. Some mentioned the superior solvency of Canadian banks. It is noteworthy that these criticisms were expressed in 1934 in language which might have been used in 1929. The "N.R.A." was not mentioned. A small minority of the teachers denounced American "moral laxity," a term which, in western Canada, is likely to include non-permanent marriage and non-observance of the Sabbath.

The isolationism, which almost all the teachers attribute to American national policy, is deplored but not denounced. America's belated entry into the war, her withdrawal from the League of Nations, her refusal to cancel war debts, and her policy of high protection are all frequently mentioned. It is fully recognized that Canada also is protectionist. It is noted with satisfaction that the friction and the attendant ill feeling which such matters may excite is short-lived and is quickly overcome by the "good will between the two nations."

The Alberta teachers pay high tribute to the "spirit of progress" in American schools and universities and to the support given to educational research. They emphasize Canada's debt to the United States in the study of educational psychology, in textbooks, in teaching methods, and in facilities for post-graduate training. Americans are accused, but not bitterly, of attempting to give higher training to many who are unfit to profit by it.

There is a general wish to teach more American history and geography in the schools. (*See* pp. 120-123.) Some wish to teach American literature. In both cases the wish is based on friendly interest in a kindred people and on an appreciation of the position of the United States as a great world power with whom friendly relations should be preserved as a matter of self-interest. There is no thought of fostering North-Americanism.

It is generally claimed that there is no unfairness or partisanship in teaching history. Some of the older textbooks are criticized on this score and for "keeping alive the ill-feeling of the boundary disputes."

The sentiment of nationality expressed by the teachers is made up of three distinct elements, which are emphasized by nearly every teacher. First, there is a definite aversion to political union with the United States, although, as we have seen, there is a strong consciousness of kinship with the American nation. Secondly, the acknowledged loyalties are to Canada and to Great Britain. Canada should "work out her own destiny" guided by the "British tradition" of values in government, law, and public morality. There is an aspiration for a culture which is not to be British, or merely North American, but uniquely Canadian. Thirdly, there is a recognition that Western Canada's economic interests are in conflict with

political loyalties. There is a feeling of hostility towards Eastern Canada[5] as an industrial community which exploits the primary producers of the West by means of the tariff, but no teacher suggested that secession from the Canadian federation was desirable. For there is deep attachment to British institutions, although as individuals Americans seem to be better liked than citizens of the British Isles.

V. *The Views of Teachers in the Maritime Provinces.* (By H. L. Stewart.)

It is the almost unanimous view of representative teachers whose opinions were elicited that the teaching of history has had no great international significance in the Maritime Provinces, and while this is generally deplored as a fault, there is, here and there, vigorous insistence that there is no good reason why Canadian pupils in schools should have their attention called to events in the United States, any more, for example, than to French or German development. The special importance of a neighbor is not considered. Nor has it been found easy to correct this fault. Great sensitiveness has been shown from time to time in the Maritime Provinces regarding even cautious efforts to introduce school textbooks with an international sympathy, and perhaps the attempts to do so have been more well-meaning than judicious. In a statement submitted to the author by the Catholic Women's League for the Archdiocese of Halifax, it is indicated as a real source of irritation that the textbook for history in Grade XI in the public schools has "devoted ten pages to what the Americans had done to win the war and two lines to the part Canadians played."

Professor R. S. Longley holds that a consequence of the neglect of American history has been frequent misconstruction in Canada of American policies. They have been attributed to some purely selfish motive, because the real explanation, in American constitutional necessities, is not understood. There is little or no effort to present American methods, and especially the points which cause American to differ from both British and Canadian institutions, as the natural and, indeed, inevitable outcome of historic, geographic, and economic

5. Ontario and Quebec are meant, although in the Maritime Provinces they would be called Central Canada.

conditions. No picture is presented of the peculiarities of the American situation, so that whatever is different from Canadian or British practice is readily dismissed as gratuitous fault or folly. Dr. F. G. Moorhouse, Principal of the Halifax County Academy, the leading high school of Nova Scotia, writes in a letter to the author:

> I do not believe the teaching of Canadian and American history in the schools of Nova Scotia is playing an important part in promoting international friendship with the United States. That it could be, and should be, is readily admitted. The two chief obstacles are, I believe, our texts and our teachers. At the present time nationalism is overemphasized in both Canadian and United States histories, and far too little attention is paid to internationalism. . . . The remedy, I believe, is to train our teachers how to teach history from the international viewpoint. It is with the young and rising generation that the new outlook must appear. The teacher with the international spirit can do wonderful things in allaying existing prejudices. My own experience leads me to think that there are indications of an improvement in this regard, and that our students of today are developing a more friendly feeling towards their neighbors than was the case a few years ago.

Where considerations of real weight and lasting importance have not been appreciated, slight and merely local irritants acquire an undue strength. Mr. H. H. Shaw, Chief Superintendent of Education for Prince Edward Island, writes, "It is possible that the study of the War of 1812 and the story of the Loyalists contribute something to weaken the attachment formerly obtaining between our people and those of the United States." But the causes he chiefly emphasizes as having made the Prince Edward Islanders less friendly are: the repeal of the Reciprocity Treaty; discontinuance of the line of boats running each summer between Boston and Charlottetown; interference by American customs laws with the markets for Island produce; difficulties met at the boundary in entering the United States and in arranging for a stay of more than six months; the supposed attitude of the United States Government in the matter of war debts. Mr. Shaw thinks that Island feeling towards the United States has thus changed for the worse, "not that any hostility has developed, but simply that friendship and acquaintance are not so close and warm as formerly."

VI. *Conclusions.*

We have seen both in this chapter and in Chapter III that while there is curiously little instruction given in Canadian schools about the United States and the importance of that country in world affairs, American influences make their presence felt in the schools. For the social outlook of the teachers, and in some cases their world outlook, too, has been affected by their contact with one or another phase of American culture. This does not mean that they share the world outlook which is now dominant in the United States. They probably prefer that represented in the aspirations which underlie the League of Nations. But they are, perhaps, more inclined to stress what there is in common between these two outlooks than to imagine cases likely to bring them into conflict with each other. They are ready to take the view that the good in everything can be reconciled if all things are approached in a constructive spirit. This is a natural view for a young and, on the whole, a prosperous country to accept. The subtler idea that there is good to be found in everything, if we have the critical training and insight which enable us to appreciate it, is rather the product of an older, and possibly decadent, society. If we can accept this idea so thoroughly as to dismiss from our minds any wish to make it an educational aim for the mass of the people, we can say that the tone of the Canadian schools is healthy and that the internationalism, which they are inclined to accept, is little more than a spirit of cheerful good-fellowship to be applied in our contacts with other nations, and first and foremost in our contacts with the United States. The danger, if danger there be, lies in the tendency to assume that international barriers are all of a kind, and so to underrate the difficulty presented by international relations when political and cultural barriers are united and when existing political arrangements seem to stand in the way of cultural or economic aims.

The opinions and attitudes which prevail among the people are the result of many factors besides the education which is given in the schools. Education itself has a wider meaning, and we must consider some of the other influences to which children are exposed before we examine what the final result has been. And as education, in the wider sense, ends only with death or mental incapacity, we shall be studying influences which affect the adult population as well as the children.

	P.E.I.	*N.S.*	*N.B.*
I. Grades VII and VIII			
A. *Geography*			
i. Textbook	Nelson	Nelson	Nelson
ii. No. of pages devoted to U.S.	12	12	12
iii. Hours devoted to lessons on U.S.	12	10	25
B. *Canadian History*			
i. Textbook	Weaver Hay and Anderson	Paterson	Weaver
ii. No. of pages devoted to U.S.	50	6	3½
iii. Hours devoted to lessons on U.S.	10	2	No reply
C. *World History, or History of England*			
i. Textbook	P.S.H. of England (Macmillan)	Paterson	A Brief History of England (Royal Sch. Series)
ii. No. of pages devoted to U.S.	7	8	None
iii. Hours devoted to lessons on U.S.	5	3	None
D. *Civics*			
i. No. of hours devoted to U.S.	—	—	—
E. *Literature*			
i. No. of selections on persons, places, events, institutions, or scenes from U.S. or by American authors	48 pages by American authors	24 selections by American authors	None
ii. Hours devoted to these selections	11% of time in Literature.	(?)	None
II. Grades XIII–XII			
A. *Geography*			
i. Textbook	Nelson	Morrison	None
ii. No. of pages devoted to U.S.	12	17	None
iii. Hours devoted to U.S.	12	5	None
iv. Grades in which work is taken in Geography	X	IX	IX, X, XI
v. Do all university matriculation pupils take a course in Geography?	Yes	Yes	Yes
vi. All normal entrance pupils?	Yes	Yes	Yes
vii. All general certificate pupils?	Yes	Yes	Yes

Quebec Protestant	*Ont.*	*Man.*	*Sask.*	*Alta.*	*B.C.*
Frye–Gammell	Gage	Gage	Cornish	None	Cornish
15	15	15	26	—	26
7	6	10	10	—	8
Not taught	Wallace	Wrong, Martin and Sage	Wrong, Martin and Sage, also Paterson.	Wallace	Wallace
—	15	Negligible	Very limited	15	15
—	6	Negligible	None	(?)	7
Jones	Chambers	Jones and Parker	P.S.H. of England (Macmillan)	Wallace	Wallace
2	4	5	None	2	2
½	2	Negligible	None	(?)	1
—	3 or 4	—	—	—	—
2 selections by American authors; Holmes and Mark Twain	13 selections by American authors.	3	selections from Hawthorne and Irving.	A small number	selections from Hawthorne, Irving and Burroughs.
(?)	5 or 6	2	10	Negligible	15
Cornish	None	Cornish	None	None	Cornish
26	None	26	None	None	26
7	Incidental	20	20	(?)	15
IX, X	IX	X, XI	X	X	X and XI or XI and XII
No	No	No	Yes	No	No
No	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	Yes
No	No	No	Yes	No	No

	P.E.I.	*N.S.*	*N.B.*
B. *Canadian History*			
i. Textbook	Weaver, also Wrong	Bingay	Weaver
ii. No. of pages devoted to U.S.	None	37	None
iii. No. of hours devoted to U.S.	None	7	None
iv. Grades in which this teaching is given	IX, X, XI	IX, X	IX, XI
v. Do all university matriculation pupils take this work?	Yes	Yes	Yes
vi. All normal entrance pupils?	Yes	Yes	Yes
vii. All general certificate pupils?	Yes	Yes	Yes
C. *World History, or History of England*			
i. Textbook	P.S.H. of England (Macmillan)	Seary and Paterson (W.H.) Carrington & Jackson (H. of E.)	Myers (W.H.)
ii. No. of pages devoted to U.S.	None	4 (W.H.) 22 (H. of E.)	No one section.
iii. No. of hours devoted to U.S.	None	3 (W.H.) 5 (H. of E.)	None
iv. In what grades is this teaching given?	IX, X, XI	IX (W.H.) X (H. of E.)	IX, X, XI
v. Do all university matriculation pupils take W.H. or H. of E.	Yes H. of E.	Yes (Both)	Yes (W.H.)
vi. All normal entrance pupils?	Yes (H. of E.)	Yes (Both)	Yes (W.H.)
vii. All general certificate pupils?	Yes (H. of E.)	Yes (Both)	Yes (W.H.)
D. *Civics*	Many text-books are used but there is		
E. *Literature*			
i. How many selections on persons, places, events, institutions, or scenes from U.S., or by American authors, are prescribed for grades IX to XII?	26 pages	25 selections	None
ii. No. of hours or proportion of time devoted to these selections?	6 per cent	?	None

Quebec Protestant	*Ont.*	*Man.*	*Sask.*	*Alta.*	*B.C.*
Grant	History of Canadian People (Copp, Clark).	McArthur	McArthur	Grant	McArthur
40	None	38	38	40	38
6	None	None	(?)	(?)	3 to 4
IX	XI	IX	IX, X, XI	XI	IX, XII
No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
No	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes
West (W.H.)	Henley Hazen or Robinson & Innes Beard. Britain's History (Copp, Clark)	Perkins (W.H.) (H. of E.)	West (W.H.)	West (Early Peoples) Mowat (H. of E.) Robinson (W.H.) Marriot (H. of E.).	West (W.H.)
14	"A large section" (W.H.)	16 (W.H.)	14	(?)	14
2	"A large amount" (W.H.)	4	(?)	(?)	20
IX, X	IX (H. of E.) XIII (W.H.)	IX, X	XI, XII	IX, X XII	IX, X XI, XII
Yes (W.H.)	Yes (H. of E.) No. (W.H.)	Yes (Both)	Yes	Yes	Yes
No	Yes (Both)	Yes (Both)	Yes (W.H.)	Yes (Both)	Yes (Both)
No	Yes (H. of E.) No (W.H.)	Yes (Both)	No	No	Yes (Both)

no discussion of United States.

Few!	Selections from several American poets.	3 in IX, X. 4 in XII.	A few selections in prose and verse.	A few selections from Longfellow, Lowell and Hawthorne, etc.	A few poems by United States authors.
(?)	"Varies greatly" 10 to 20 per cent of time.	3	Very little	(?)	5 to 8 in Grades IX and X.

CHAPTER V

MOTION PICTURES

I. *Introduction.*

The belief is almost universal that the motion-picture theaters are an important influence in the formation of opinions about the United States and so affect the general attitude of Canadians towards that country. These theaters have come to play an enormous part in the life of all countries. They have taken over the functions of many forms of public entertainment, from the most refined to the most vulgar. They are attended by people of all ages and of all degrees of education. Many people witness mixed programs which contain items that, before the advent of the motion pictures, they would have deliberately avoided. Those items are forced on their consciousness. It seems obvious that the influence of the pictures, for good or ill, must be very great. The reformer, both in the United States and Canada, is quick to take alarm and to protest against what he or she believes to be the open corruption of youth. The man (or woman) of the world is likely to take a larger view. With this aspect of the controversies which the motion pictures have excited we are concerned only in so far as protests, which in other countries have been confined to religious, moral, or social issues, have taken on a nationalistic tinge. For the motion pictures in Canada represent an American influence. The reformer can enlist the sympathy of the nationalist, who in turn can, if he chooses, acquire a color of respectability from associating with the reformer. Thus the question of the regulation of motion pictures, which is complex in any country, is peculiarly involved in Canada.

It seems obvious that many must draw their chief impressions of what is going on in the world from the news-reel and that the emotional and moral influence of the stories must be very great. But there is no decisive method of testing the validity of this belief. We cannot simply compare those who attend the movies with those who do not, because the latter group is by hypothesis somewhat abnormal in its tastes. The relevance of the present chapter is therefore dependent on an unverified—though almost undisputed—belief. The primary study is made of conditions in Eastern Canada.

II. *Motion Pictures in the Maritime Provinces and the Controversies Which They Have Excited.* (By H. L. Stewart.)

It is agreed that among all the sources from which knowledge—or at least belief—about the United States is derived by the average citizen of Eastern Canada, none is more important than the motion-picture theater. It addresses itself constantly to a multitude who read no newspapers, or—if they do—confine their interest to purely local news; it acts constantly on the feelings and imagination of children and young people whose minds are in the most receptive stage; and it works largely through appeal to the eye, which is notoriously more effective and lasting in results than any other sort of propagandism. In dealing with this influence on Canadian-American relations, a distinction must be laid down at the outset between *direct* and *indirect* consequences. Pictures may be productive of friendliness or hostility by wakening these emotions at once, i.e., by conciliating or antagonizing the Canadian observer as the claims of the United States are pressed upon him; or they may convey unobtrusively, through implicit or latent suggestion, rather than by explicit or manifest claim, an idea of American life and habits which will eventually either attract or repel.

There is wide agreement that the direct impact is less important and far less inimical to good relations than it was some years ago. Whether the change is in the material presented or in the Eastern Canadian temper in which it is received, there is now far less complaint that American-made pictures are sheer propaganda, that they are laden with national boastfulness, or that they are crafty advertising of American products. From time to time, the mood of the years just subsequent to the World War has reappeared, especially since "talkies" have displaced the old "movies" and an occasional American speech about public policy makes the news-reel an irritation to Canadian feeling. For example, a suggestion made in January, 1933, that the Island of Bermuda might fitly be handed over to the United States in part payment of British war debts, caused such an uproar in a Halifax theater that the news-reel had to be discontinued. But, while at the present day such incidents are rare, and the spontaneous protest of the moment is remembered next day with good-natured amusement, there was, fifteen years ago, a real menace

to good international relations. By now the memory of the World War and the question who won it have become matters of purely historical interest and, with the calming of passions, a certain indulgence towards one another's natural boastfulness, and a certain license to genial egotism on the screen of one's own country, have asserted themselves. Then, too, greater care is taken by those who select pictures for the Canadian theaters. The chance that they may be injurious to international good will is more operative than before in the minds of American producers, and a sharper censorship, at least in Eastern Canada, excludes the sort of picture which had roused resentment. This is true not only of the films in which American success and glory were so obtrusively displayed, but also of the gangster pictures and the pictures of social horror, of which many used to be shown, but which the Eastern Canadian censor now peremptorily excludes.

A questionnaire answered by pupils in the Nova Scotian high schools revealed some suggestive facts.[1] Out of more than 1,800 pupils who were asked what they thought about the screen, it turned out that over 1,000 preferred American to English pictures, 571 preferred English pictures, 89 indicated no preference, while only 28 disavowed any interest at all. Clearly, almost all the pupils of grades XI and XII in Nova Scotia frequent the cinema theater, and there is no reason to suppose that New Brunswick or Prince Edward Island would show a different result.[2] Those who prefer the American-made pictures give as their reasons that the acting is better, that the stage settings are more vivid and impressive, and that the plots have a deeper interest. A substantial number speak of their preference for American scenes and people because they are more like Canadian. Thus 160 out of 1,010 prefer American plays because they find "the English accent unpleasant and hard to understand"; 74 definitely declare that "the American people are more like ourselves"; and 42 prefer "the American type of humor." A large number, running into several hundreds, allege reasons which are fundamentally the same in character, though differently expressed;

1. This questionnaire, designed by F. H. Soward, was used throughout Canada to test the opinions and attitudes of school-children. It is discussed in full in Chapter XVI.

2. The result is substantially the same in all provinces. *See* Chapter XVI.

for example, that they are more familiar with the American "stars"; that the American plays are more entertaining, more modern, not so old-fashioned; while the English are relatively monotonous, stiff, formal, and have less action or speed. Among the 571 who would go for choice to English pictures, 206 give as their reason that these are "more clean and decent." It is perhaps worth noting that a very high proportion of the school children who prefer the English pictures, and at least one-half of those who do so for the reason stated, are from Catholic schools. In all cases it is probable that the opinions expressed by the children were to some extent echoes of what they had heard in their homes or at school, for the great majority used terms very similar to those employed by typical adult members of the community, while in some instances all the pupils in a class wrote the same answer in the same words.

The preponderant opinion of the youthful audience, though thus reflecting that of a wider public, is far from congenial to certain very important groups. "American penetration of Canadian life" through the screen is a feature of our time which some leaders in the Maritime Provinces incessantly deplore. It has been watched of late by Welfare Associations (especially those conducted by women), the Imperial Order Daughters of the Empire, and the Catholic Women's League. While the concern of most of these was with the theater, not in fostering or impairing international friendship, but in relation to morals and British patriotism, the results they reached are intimately, though indirectly, connected with their attitude towards the United States.

Of these groups the Imperial Order Daughters of the Empire has studied the subject most keenly and persistently. It exists as an Order primarily to strengthen and develop the spirit of British Imperial patriotism in Canada. In reply to four questions which were submitted to them, the 14 Regents of the Halifax Chapters submitted the following answer, which was endorsed by the Provincial Chapter of Nova Scotia:

> The Imperial Order Daughters of the Empire has 31 chapters, with a membership of 1,323, in Nova Scotia. It has given close attention to such matters as the influence of the moving pictures upon international feeling. The following are a few of its definite conclusions:
>
> 1. That moving pictures constitute now the most important source from

which ideas of United States life are formed, especially by young people in Nova Scotia.

2. That Canadian feeling is still often irritated by a certain national boastfulness in the American-made pictures. Until comparatively recently the "news-reels" were objectionable for the constant predominance of American scenes, but this has been in a measure corrected. The claim to have "won the war" though no longer explicitly advanced (as in so many films in the years immediately following 1918) is still implicit in pictures of the war period, and resentment, though slumbering, is quickly stirred.

3. That Nova Scotians often get from the pictures an impression of the United States as indulgent to lax family morals, with a vulgar ostentatiousness of wealth, unrefined even in vice (sic), contemptuous of law, and with officials in corrupt connivance with "gangsters."

4. That attention should be given the textbooks of history and government (commonly called "civics") in use in the Nova Scotian schools. While some of American authorship (notably West's *Modern Progress*) have been productive of much irritation through their American bias, it would be extremely desirable to have more instruction for Canadian pupils on the institutions, the municipal and political organization, and the whole social life of the United States.

It is thus the judgment of the I.O.D.E. that in this matter of Canadian-American relations in Eastern Canada there is still much room for improvement both negatively and positively. Negatively, by more effective sifting and selection of pictures; positively, by a more serious and systematic, as well as more sympathetic, diffusion of knowledge in schools regarding the past and present of the United States.

No such estimate, however, would be endorsed with similar unanimity by the I.O.D.E. in New Brunswick, where the matter was pronounced "too controversial" for the Order as a whole to consider. Half the Chapters furnished separate expressions of opinion whose diversity was striking. Most of them either denied that there was any international irritant in the American-made pictures, or explained the irritant away as being in no sense peculiarly American. The alleged "boastfulness," while acknowledged by some and emphasized by a few, was in general minimized as a transient offense of the days just after the war. Some Chapters deprecated very strongly the readiness to show British enthusiasm by quarrelsomeness with one's American neighbor, and, on the whole, in this Province founded by Loyalists, the organization, elsewhere most

sensitive on points of Imperial honor, showed to a very surprising degree "the international mind."

In Prince Edward Island, on the other hand, the Order, which is represented by two Chapters, shows even more than the Nova Scotian vigilance against Americanization. "I find the American pictures," writes the Secretary of the Abegweit Chapter, "with rare exceptions, objectionable to an inherent sense of decency."

The Regent of the Charlottetown Chapter writes:

> We are keenly desirous of peace and international good will, not only with the United States of America but with all nations. We are aware of the fact, however, that there is a grave danger to our British citizenship in that our growing Canadian is imbibing from press, radio and screen that which tends to loosen the tie of our British connections. Our young people are being permeated with ideas of American business methods, American sport methods, American ideas of home life, of marriage ties and of living conditions. The propaganda is insidious but immensely powerful.

A statement from the Charlottetown Chapter stresses the same points:

> There are certain conventions which must be obeyed in the interests of society as a whole. These are conspicuously absent from American-made moving pictures. . . . If these features of life are regarded as typically American, whose is the responsibility? and why does not every Canadian coöperate with the I.O.D.E. in demanding British pictures, where these objectionable features do not appear to such an extent? We do not feel that these sources of trouble have been smoothed away; what has really happened has been that we have become hardened, we are indeed less sensitive; we sit through the portrayal of scenes that ten years ago would have caused many to gather their belongings together and leave in righteous indignation.

From these communications it appears that an organization, once reproached with being narrowly and uncharitably patriotic, has shared in the movement for internationalism more than it is yet willing to acknowledge. If it remains sharply critical of foreign influence in Canada, it rests its criticism less on national than on moral grounds. The Order is gravely disturbed by the invasion of a new sort of moral values which—whether characteristically American or not—have at least been "screened" in Hollywood. Perhaps the

popularity of these pictures may be a force for international good will, but the I.O.D.E. thinks the price too high to pay. A closely organized and extremely active body of some 3,000 women, distributed in every considerable center of the Maritime Provinces, and carrying on a crusade of protest against such influences from across the border, is not to be ignored in an international estimate.[3]

The Catholic Women's League was started in Eastern Canada some fourteen years ago and has now some 4,000 members in various dioceses. To the question, "In what respect, if any, do you consider that the American-made pictures irritate Canadian feeling?" the Halifax Sub-Division of the League replied tersely, "Their immorality." "Mostly," said the St. John City Sub-Division, "by their general tendency to glorify vice." The Antigonish Diocesan President writes: "Because of the prominence given to 'high life' and crime the impression is conveyed that American civilization is becoming more and more degenerate. Gangsters are represented as occupying an important place in American life." The same writer goes on to object to "either complete war pictures or war scenes which excessively glorify the Americans." But it is apparent that, to the Catholic organization as such, the chief offense is moral. The campaign prosecuted by Catholics everywhere under the name "The Legion of Decency" was sure of support in the Maritime Provinces. But the Legion is itself an American organization which has exercised a great influence in raising the level of the pictures exhibited in the United States. How, then, are we to explain the fact that the campaign for decency in Canada seems to have assumed a nationalistic guise rather than forming part of an international movement? One answer is that Canadian protests preceded the formation of the Legion. Another answer seems to be that, while there is protest in the United States against some of the productions in Hollywood, a foreign community tends to hold Americans in the mass responsible for failing to control their own worse elements. For instance, the Halifax Sub-Division of the Catholic Women's League writes: "Yes [i.e., these pictures tend to lower Canadian respect for the American people]. The Motion Picture Code has been violated. It was incumbent upon the American people to insist that same be adhered to,

3. This view should be compared with the references to the I.O.D.E. in Chapter X.

and any contravention severely dealt with." The North-End Sub-Division of the League writes: "They [Canadians] are pained by the violation of promises solemnly made [the Motion Picture Code]; to notice the disregard of law and morality; the admiration, if not praise, of victories in various professions obtained through technicalities or trickery [winning law cases through the suppression of witnesses, winning a game, as football, by injuring a player or hiding a ball]; praise of gangsters; worship of movie heroes and heroines; stunts, as six-day bicycle races; flag-pole roosting; fraternizing of police officers with criminals and their relatives, with the display of this in the movies [Dillingers]. This makes Canadians feel that the United States is a good place to keep out of."

The critical attitude here set forth is not confined to these two organizations, the one particularly sensitive to offenses against British national dignity, the other particularly vigilant over public morals. It is, in certain respects, though with notably varying emphasis, the attitude of Eastern Canadian women as a whole. Practically all the women's clubs (which are, indeed, very numerous) concerning themselves with civic interests or patriotic effort, send representatives to the Provincial Council of Women of Nova Scotia or to the Association of Women's Institutes, the former chiefly an urban, the latter a rural, society. A memorandum was obtained from these two bodies:

Most American-made films have now no other effect than to instruct or amuse, but there are still some, although their number tends to decrease, which irritate Canadian feeling,

(a) by giving too little attention to the importance of the influence of other nations on world affairs, especially that of Great Britain, and by over-emphasizing that of the United States.

(b) By a certain arrogant inference of the superiority of the "100 per cent" American to citizens of other countries.

(c) While news-reels have improved tremendously in the percentage of international events, and the "I won the war" attitude has nearly disappeared from war films, and there seems to be a much greater degree of knowledge of our Canadian climate, habits and customs, yet an overgrown national American enthusiasm can still arouse Canadian impatience.

Films which convey connivance with crime by the luridness and obscenity of its portrayal and by the number of "gangster" scenes shown; or give an impression of contempt for law and its enforcement; or a disregard

for the sanctity of the marriage rite; or a condoning of offenses against good morals or good taste because "everybody does it," tend to lower Canadian respect for that section of the American people whose box-office support makes the production of that type of picture profitable.

The members of a Committee of the Halifax Ministerial Association, appointed to examine and report on moving pictures, made the following statements with respect to the international aspect of the question, in an interview with the author (May 25, 1934).

The pictures shown in these provinces, of which the vast majority are American-made, have become of late more deplorable in their misrepresentation of United States life. They exhibit this, as one member put it, "out of focus"; and since the screen is the only source from which the average Canadian imagination on this subject is supplied, the consequence is internationally bad. No doubt there is not any immediate thought that "this is American," but the spectator is sure to reflect so, sooner or later.

What is most to be regretted is not the irritation caused by the "flag-flapping," the boastful mood of "We won the war," and the constant predominance of American scenes. These features are taken for granted and no fault is found with the prevalence of American patriotic scenes in an American-made picture. The chief complaint is that the Canadian spectator is led to think of Americans as people of low morals, bent upon material fortunes no matter how obtained, indulgent to gangsters, financial pirates and corrupt politicians, with ostentatious luxury, easy divorce and lax administration of the law. Inevitably those with more austere moral sense will be repelled by this, so that the screen is to them destructive to Canadian-American friendship based upon respect. For others, there is the consequence, morally still more regrettable, though of at least less rapid international irritation, that they come to like the lower sort of life depicted in the films, so that friendship is preserved by "levelling down."

While much of the criticism directed against the pictures as setting up injurious trains of thought has been exaggerated and misleading, there is an element of sinister truth in it. No doubt the average theater-goer is there "to see a show," and pictures of crime are taken as wholly imaginary, with little more stimulus to irritation than belongs to a detective story. It is probably true, as so often urged by the picture-theater managers, that "sociological interpretations," e.g., in the minds of the poor as they contemplate films of luxurious life, are as a rule the mere fancy of a sociologist transferring his own peculiar intellectual habits to the average audience from which they are altogether remote. But, indirectly though not directly, by unconscious or subconscious suggestion rather than by any process of

reasoned reflection, a disastrous effect is produced. By degrees an idea of American ways which is internationally most unfortunate for Canadians to entertain, is thus formed.

The Reverend Dr. Curran, of St. Joseph's Church, Halifax, supplied a memorandum which can be summarized as follows:

A campaign of vast proportions is now being waged by the Catholic "Legion of Decency," and while it is true that this reforming movement began in the United States, the Canadian Catholic inevitably thinks of the evil which has to be fought as "American." . . . Catholics observe the tolerance of the official government attitude and reflect "This is an American condition." Much has been done at Ottawa to protect morals against obscene literature and the contrast with the laxity at Washington impresses Catholics in the Maritime Provinces. It was felt that the United States Government was either unwilling or unable to resist the picture producers. The gangster pictures are probably more destructive of international friendliness than the pictures of dissolute family life, but not so injurious to character.

There can be no doubt whatever of the sincerity of the protest of the women and the churches, but it is not by any means certain that they have correctly appraised the effect of the motion pictures on the population at large, either in undermining moral standards or in imparting international good will. A summary of an interview with the Managing Director of Macadam Theaters Limited, Halifax, indicates the views of the trade:

While there was considerable irritation over the American-produced pictures in the years following the Great War because of their strong tinge of national boastfulness, there is no noticeable tendency to arouse resentment today. No irritation has been expressed about the grandiose opulence, the pomp and circumstance displayed on the screen. Indeed there is nothing specifically American in representations of this character, and gangsters are no more objectionable than Robin Hood. The audience goes simply to be entertained by a "good show," cares nothing and indeed thinks nothing about its place of origin, and finds its chief interest in the exceptional (what is called the sensational) on the screen as in a novel. This, rather than any loosening of the moral fibre, is the reason why gangster scenes, gambling scenes, the so-called horrors, and the pictures of loose sex relationships are attractive. The audience is not so obtuse as the sociologist.

Perhaps the most balanced view of the question was that expressed

by a group of newspaper editors from all parts of the Maritime Provinces:

The Moving Picture Theater has been an instrument of improved understanding between Canada and the United States. In this respect there has been a distinct progress during the last few years. Pictures offered to theater managers in the Maritime Provinces are known to come through the medium of an "exchange" where they are trimmed and "edited" in accordance with the preferences of the constituency for which they are destined. Features which used to offend national sentiment in Canada are thus eliminated. The American-produced pictures still tend in various ways to rouse Canadian resentment and Nova Scotia is probably more sensitive on this matter than any other province except Ontario. Special points to be borne in mind are:

(a) The customary emphasis on scenes of ostentatious opulence,

(b) The flippant handling of the marriage bond and the implied commendation of easy divorce,

(c) The gangster spectacles.

It has a deplorable consequence for international respect that these features of life should be presented as typically American, and the American setting of the pieces—even apart from knowledge of the place of origin of the films—inevitably conveys this. Moreover, especially during the period immediately after 1918, there must have been need for the utmost caution to exclude features suggesting that the United States had "won the war," and some pictures which eluded the censorship called forth strong protest on this ground.

These sources of trouble, however, seem to have been progressively smoothed away. Not only has more care been shown in adjusting pictures for the Maritime Provinces of Canada, but the Eastern Canadian spectator has become less unreasonably sensitive to points of national honor (such as displays of a foreign flag on the Canadian screen) and also quicker to discount the exhibition of sensational eccentricities (of obtrusive grandeur, of passion or of crime). He remembers that "it is only a picture," and realizes that it is foolish to think of what it shows as "typically American." As these risks are progressively reduced there remains the enormous international advantage of making one people thus known to another in its best qualities, which only the dramatic intimacy of the screen can reveal. The Canadians have a deepened sympathy—due to far better acquaintance—with United States life, and thus the benefits very far surpass the drawbacks.

One more witness remains to be called. In an interview the

Chairman of the Board of Motion Picture Censors for Nova Scotia expressed the following views:

Six or seven years ago the news-reel rarely gave any ideas or news of British origin; they were overwhelmingly American. But, after some effort and many protests, the producers were persuaded to insert 15 to 20 per cent about British affairs.

There is a need for constant watchfulness against pictures which would be financially remunerative but harmful to public morals, but those who are most concerned about morals fail to assist by supporting good pictures instead of attacking—and so, incidentally advertising—the bad ones.

One consequence of the vast development of the screen theater has been to promote Canadian-American friendliness. The recent vigorous demand for British-made pictures is not due to any widespread national prejudice. It is partly the work of a small group extremely British in their views but is in part the consequence of the exhibition in recent years of a few superlatively fine English pictures. On the whole public preference has no national flavor; people support the pictures which, wherever originating, are the "better show."

However, there is a great contrast between the attitude towards law, shown by the average citizen of today and that of twenty years ago. Unconsciously, or subconsciously, owing perhaps in part to Prohibition, but also to the American films, lawlessness has made headway. As yet only a small and more or less eccentric minority, who realize the source of this change, find in it any ground for criticism of the United States. For the rest there is "peaceful penetration." But the critical minority are not to be forgotten in estimating the formation of attitudes.

III. *The Combines Investigation of the Motion Picture Industry.*

The study made in the Maritime Provinces disclosed a struggle between those who seek entertainment and those who wish to protect their homes and their children from what they conceive to be a pernicious influence. The latter group easily finds itself speaking the language of nationalism, or of imperial patriotism, and is naturally led to ally itself with patriotic associations. But these two groups must not be allowed to occupy the whole of the stage. We have to consider a third group whose aim is profit. In April, 1931, a report was published of an *Investigation into an Alleged Combine in the Motion Picture Industry in Canada.* (Ottawa.) The Commissioner found that the motion-picture industry in Canada

was, at that time, controlled by a Combine, to which exhibitors, producers, and distributors were parties, and which "had operated and was likely to operate to the detriment or against the interest of the public." Fault was found with "the campaign of propaganda" that had been conducted and with the "interference and attempted interference with the censorship throughout Canada." (Page 232.) In the course of the inquiry evidence had been admitted in reference to the showing in Canada of British-made pictures, "because it might well be that, if it were established that some one or more of those named in the Order in Council, by arranging to exclude British films from their theaters or to render the exhibition of them difficult, had combined to do either, or to limit the supply of British films this would undoubtedly be to the detriment of the Canadian public."

First as to Famous Players. It might well be [good policy?], up to a point, so far as the actual theater operations are concerned, and as a matter of propaganda, to appeal to the patriotic impulses of the Canadian people, for this company to exhibit a number of British films; but one can easily see that it will not suit Mr. Zukor and his American partners in the control of Famous Players, Famous-Lasky Films Service Limited, and Regal Films, to push the British idea to a point where it might possibly interfere with the sale and exhibition in Canada of their own United States productions. While Mr. Cohen might personally like to see the idea of British films fostered in Canada, I am convinced that, if it came to the point where the British industry were really competing internationally with the United States industry, which now has a great preponderance of the world's motion-picture business, Mr. Cohen would receive instructions which it would be difficult, if not impossible, for him to disregard and which would not allow of any really serious attempt to permit the exhibition of any British-made product.

Mr. Cohen says that he is glad to play British pictures, provided they are box-office attractions. There is a wide difference between this and the "promotion" which is behind some of the United States pictures of equal or less merit than at least some of the British-made pictures. I am convinced that, if it were possible to engage in any real campaign with a view to extending the showing in Canada of British pictures to the limit, much could be done in that direction which would result in placing before our theater-going public British manners, British English [sic] and British ideals.

The attitude of Colonel Cooper and his organization, composed, as it is, entirely of distributors, with the exception of some Famous Players' members, might best be illustrated by a telegram regarding the case of some

proposed legislation in British Columbia in 1929. On January 25, of that year, Mr. W. R. Marshall, Vice-President of the Film Board of Trade in Vancouver, wired Colonel Cooper:

> "Reliably informed that Government Bill to be introduced immediately present session local legislature in which quota law to be established making it compulsory for exhibitors to play at least twenty per cent British[4]-produced pictures STOP Also provides for strict censorship posters and newspaper advertising STOP Exhibitors lining up to oppose this measure and it is vital that distributors unite to kill the Bill STOP Heavy lobbying will be necessary attain results and start should be made on Monday STOP Exhibitors representative leaving for Victoria Sunday and at special meeting Film Board held today it was unanimously resolved that Donnenworth should be instructed to accompany him STOP Adequate financial appropriation from your office urgently required and suggest same be wired immediately."

The evidence also established that this lobbying cost Famous Players in the neighborhood of $5,000.

The proposed bill was withdrawn. (Page 160.) As an example of "propaganda" distributed by the Motion Picture Distributors and Exhibitors an extract from an editorial in the *Financial Post*, Toronto, of May 22, 1930, is cited in the Report.

British films do not come to Canada in large numbers for certain well-defined reasons. The first is that there are few British films of the highest quality. This is the more true now that a rationing plan is in force in Britain that requires distributors there to use a certain minimum number of home-made films. The producers, knowing that this assures them of a market, have let down on quality. The second reason is that the Canadian public has been disappointed so often in the films it has been shown from the Old Land that it refuses a large measure of patronage to any British films. (Page 160.)

The Report also deals briefly with the relations of the "Combine" with the organizations which attempt to maintain the moral standards of the community:

It is almost amusing, if it were not pathetic, to learn that Colonel Cooper had succeeded in convincing this good lady [who reported for the

4. By a typographical error "Canadian" was written for "British" in the original telegram.

Committee on Films, and Amusements and Printed Matter of the Local Council of Women for Saskatchewan on January 24, 1927] that he, employed and paid as he is by the United States producers, is standing between them and the public in the matter of censorship, when as a matter of fact his activities and those of his organization have been directed towards a relaxation and criticism of the standard set up by the various Censor Boards of Canada; and so far as I can observe from a perusal of all the minutes of this organization, and of all the memoranda to general managers, and of all the correspondence submitted relating to the subject of censorship, I can find no case where he, or his organization, made any move or request towards having any picture censored. The files of this organization are replete with criticisms of the actions of Censor Boards, in cases where pictures were censored, and in the Province of Quebec a suggestion was made in regard to changing the personnel of the Censor Board, whose decisions were regarded as unsatisfactory. (Page 211.)

From these extracts it appears that side by side with the attempts at interfering with what may be rather loosely called the spontaneous trends of public taste which are made in the supposed interests of decency and patriotism, there is a possible interference on a business basis designed to push the wares which the industry has to sell. This latter influence must be reckoned among those which make for "Americanization."

IV. *Comments of the Winnipeg Press on American Motion Pictures in the Years 1931–34.* (By Mrs. R. F. McWilliams.)

In another connection, we shall have occasion to examine the attitude of the press of Winnipeg on matters which affect Canadian-American relations. (Chapter XIII.) It seems convenient to anticipate part of this study by considering at this point the editorial comments which have been made on the motion-picture problem.

The *Free Press* plunges into the heart of the question on July 8, 1931:

Canadians rightly resent any suggestion that the Dominion must be considered only a merchandising annex of the United States. We have, we maintain, a different background and a different ideology from our close neighbor across the line. We consider this worth while. It is, therefore, a matter of keen interest to everyone in the country to see to it that the avenues of approach towards the development of our distinctive culture are

left open, and are not clogged, or definitely closed, by the influence of important financial interests in another land.

The grounds of dislike are more clearly indicated three weeks later (*Free Press*, July 29, 1931):

Unless Hollywood manages to swing into line with the British ideas, it will find its elaborate and expensive apparatus . . . unable to save it from disaster.

The plays have nothing in them . . . they avoid with almost ludicrous anxiety any attempt to touch the intelligence of the audience. . . . This is just what the British film attempts to do. . . . Hollywood . . . [is a] symbol of dramatic impotence.

In the following year (January 23, 1932), the *Tribune* on its editorial page publishes an extract from the recent report of the Board of Censors for Ontario:

That public taste in films has been formed in Canada and the United States (which continue to be one country so far as American distribution is concerned), is almost entirely due to Hollywood.

Due to the preponderance of United States films, nearly every screen story which includes prosecutions, or deals with the administration of justice, portrays the American jury trial, court-room decorum and judicial procedure. With nothing to distinguish the actors from those in any English-speaking country, there is a definite tendency to leave the impression that these methods are British . . . [which] is apt to give the mass mind the impression that such methods prevail in Canada. In the public interest this is undesirable. British pictures dealing with such themes afford a striking contrast.

The *Free Press*, on June 18, 1932, quotes from a statement of *Paramount*, "throughout Canada as a whole there is a quicker response to a really good picture than in any other district on the North American continent."

On February 18, 1933, the *Tribune* suggests that American films strengthen Canadian national feeling:

American films have long been recognized as a great advertising agent for American goods. . . . They have at the same time carried a picture of American civilization which is not quite fair, or if fair, not quite attractive. They have thus helped to wean Canada in a great measure from any thoughts of following in the footsteps of the United States.

On July 12, 1934, the *Free Press* devotes a double-column editorial to the world crusade launched by the Pope.

> The Vatican, if it does intend to press a vigorous campaign against the movies on the charge of indecency, has timed its attack at a moment when Hollywood is undoubtedly open to criticism on this score.

A week later (July 19, 1934), the same paper again discusses the question in an article on the editorial page:

> What is really surprising about the campaign denouncing undesirable motion pictures is that it, or a similar protest from any other representative section of the public, has been so long in coming.
>
> The move towards nudity, violence and sex in the Hollywood output has been less and less restrained and increasingly indifferent to conventional opinion during the past two years.

V. *Conclusions.*

From the foregoing account it appears that the effect produced in Canada by American motion pictures has been far from simple. Side by side with the direct and obvious results of advertising American goods, popularizing American styles of beauty and of voice, and habituating the peoples of the two countries to witnessing the same type of entertainment, there must be taken into account the protests which the American films have excited. These protests have been made on several grounds, and there has been a tendency for the adversaries of the American films to form an alliance—holy or unholy. One ground of protest has been narrowly patriotic or nationalistic; another has been narrowly moral; a third has considered the broad question of the possible growth of a distinctively Canadian culture, which will demand something positive from the motion-picture theater and not be satisfied merely with the avoidance of boasting or vice. In alliance these three protesting groups are very strong. A third effect of the motion pictures to be suggested is that they arouse a dislike of American life and a contempt for American civilization, but this would be easy to exaggerate. The actual protest against certain types of motion pictures is perhaps no stronger in Canada than in the United States. But there is the difference that in Canada it can take a form of nationalist protest and give comfort to the sense of moral or even cultural superiority.

CHAPTER VI

RADIO BROADCASTING

I. *The Direct or Propagandist Use of Radio.*

In considering what the actual influence of radio broadcasting has been on the opinions and attitudes of Canadians, we must distinguish between the effects produced by a deliberate appeal to the reason and the emotions designed to produce effects on opinion and the indirect effects of a new element in the cultural life of the community.

An example of the first of these two potential functions of the radio is, at the moment of writing (May, 1935) still fresh in everyone's mind. The Silver Jubilee of King George V was made the occasion of a carefully arranged program which was to carry its message to every corner of the British Empire. It was completely successful in its purpose of exciting a consciousness of unity of experience and of purpose. The events which were passed rapidly in review were the events which actually counted in the life of every citizen who had entered on middle age. The reign of the monarch had coincided with the active life of the citizen, and there had been no apparent difference in the interests of the Crown and those of the people. An emotional moment in the life of the Empire had been intensified and vitalized by the new technique which was so skilfully used without departing from the standards of dignity and good taste. Even those most sensitive to the unreality of flamboyant emotional appeals had no need to blush for their thrill of pride. The measure of what the radio had achieved could be gauged by remembering such other occasions in the life of the Empire as the Armistice of November 11, 1918, or the Declaration of War on August 4, 1914, when radio broadcasting did not exist.

Thus has the radio served, and thus is it likely to serve, the cause of national patriotism, or of Imperial brotherhood. Perhaps the survival of historic institutions, the majestic symbolism of the Crown, the dissociation of loyalty and patriotism from any trace of party animosity, and the consciousness of sharing experience with a vast community represented in every quarter of the world,

give a unique quality to a British broadcast. Without boastfulness and yet with a sense of pride, many Canadians rejoiced in the idea that those of their American friends who chose could listen to the broadcast and hear the part which a kindred community had played and was playing in shaping the destinies of the world. For it is almost of the essence of a program of this sort that any ungenerous reflection on a friendly people, or any trace of bitterness or resentment should be banished from it. Thus while such a program is selected with an end in view, the selection is governed or censored by the tastes of the listeners, scattered throughout the world in small communities which have few, if any, purely selfish interests in common. The main effect of the program is indirect and lies in the memories which it excites. But memory, too, is selective like any other propagandist, and it is safe to say that here, too, the censorship is benign. For some, the memories which are aroused are those of the distant lands where they passed their childhood; for others they concern the months or years spent in the armed forces of the Crown in brotherhood of arms and service with those of whom they think as their fellow listeners today; for others the memories are of the stories they have heard their mothers tell. Patriotism may be stimulated, or pride in Empire, but there is no trace of the bitterness arising from the memory of fighting desperately in attempting to defend home and kindred from the invader, which taints the national memories of many peoples.

It has not been the fortune of the Canadian people to experience any purely Canadian emotional moment since the radio has been available as a vehicle for its commemoration. The nearest approach was the Diamond Jubilee of Confederation on July 1, 1927, but the broadcast on this occasion had little of the emotional appeal or of the breadth of outlook of an Imperial broadcast.

But there have been occasions on which Canadians could and did sympathize with a great moment in the national life of the United States; for instance, in listening to the voice of Mr. Roosevelt steadying the nation in the face of the great banking crisis. Then, Canadians participated in an event as it occurred and felt that they were hearing more authentic evidence than is supplied by the press or the news-reel.

Now, of course, the radio is not reserved exclusively for great

occasions, and it enables people to form a much more realistic idea of what takes place in their own and neighboring countries than they were able to do previous to its invention. But eavesdropping in the ether is subject to some limitations of time and space. Thus events which occur in the early afternoon at Ottawa are contemporaneous with the middle of the morning in Vancouver, and the time of a British short-wave broadcast may well be the middle of the night by local time. Space, too, is important, for the radius of many programs is strictly limited. Considerations of reception make many Canadian points dependent for the programs they like on relatively distant stations. With the details we are not concerned. But we can say definitely that, even with the advantages of short-wave transmission, British programs are less generally available to Canadian listeners than American. American music, American humor, American news, American sports and American advertising are readily accessible to the owners of receiving sets. This impact of American life is fraught with great possibilities, which some may class as good and others as evil. We shall have to consider the comments that it has excited and then the action which has been taken to offset what are officially believed to be its undesirable tendencies.

II. *The Effects of Radio Broadcasts in the Maritime Provinces.* (By H. L. Stewart.)

Our main study was made in the Maritime Provinces. We may begin with a protest which is definitely inspired by economic interest rather than philosophic judgment. The *Maritime Merchant* of January 8, 1931, wrote as follows:

The powerful American broadcasting stations are the easiest to pick up, and they have the best talent; and the Canadian public is constantly being prepared for the introduction or pushing of American products on the market. Canadian manufacturers are therefore up against something peculiarly insidious.[1] It may be said that the Canadian manufacturers have access to the same medium for bringing their products to the attention of Canadian listeners-in. But what avails that, if Canadians tune out their

1. This word, as the context shows, is not meant in the sense of any censurable design, but only in that of particularly well contrived advertisement. The *Maritime Merchant* was so friendly to the United States as to support reciprocity in 1911.

Canadian stations and tune in the American programs? . . . The radio has added to our difficulties in developing a Canadian individuality in our national life, and in avoiding a sort of vassalage to the United States. The radio is a far more insidious and unconquerable influence than the press. In time, we might develop our press to such an extent that there would be relatively little American literature brought in, and of course relatively little American publicity. But you cannot dam up the air.

If we assume that the answers to a questionnaire[2] by 1,881 pupils in Nova Scotia high schools are approximately reflective of feeling in the pupils' homes, the argument in this paragraph is both confirmed and illustrated. To the inquiry, "Do you prefer English or Canadian or American radio programs?" 1,073 expressed preference for American, 248 for Canadian, 64 for English, while 57 had no preference at all. Assigning reasons for their choice, the great majority of the devotees of American radio point out that its character is more diversified, that the artists employed have finer talent, and that the performance is more entertaining. While 678 express dislike of "too much advertising" on the United States programs, only 66 (slightly over 4 per cent of those who answered this query) dislike it so much as to prefer Canadian or British broadcasts, while only 37 refer to the national boastfulness of American speakers. Apparently there is ground for the reflection of the *Maritime Merchant* that radio advertising from the neighboring republic is "insidiously" successful.

The leaders for holding the interest of Nova Scotian school pupils are shown, by answers to the questionnaires, to be four: *The Chase and Sanborn Hour* (with Eddie Cantor and Rubinoff); *Bakers' Broadcast* (with Joe Penner and Oswald Nelson); *Maxwell House Showboat; Woodbury Program* (with Bing Crosby). These combined obtained 34 per cent of the preferences recorded, no other getting as many as 100 votes. The variety of taste among the less popular is shown by the fact that no fewer than 201 other American programs are named, each of which was the choice of some group, large or small.

Asked whether they give attention to broadcast speeches on American politics, 1,113 of these Nova Scotian pupils replied "No,"

2. Prepared by F. W. Soward and discussed in detail in Chapter XVI.

288 "Yes," 205 "Occasionally," 127 "Not very often," and 56 declared that they did so only during a presidential campaign, or when they had an opportunity to hear the American President. But more than half listen habitually to radio stories of American crime, and of these nearly all say that the impression they get is a very bad one—of lawlessness and inadequate police, with resultant danger to life.

Major William Borrett, who has been Director of the Radio Station CHNS at Halifax ever since it was opened nine years ago, explained in an interview why the people of these Provinces are certain to remain far more interested in American than in Canadian radio programs. Not only have the broadcasts from the United States centers been so far more entertaining, but geographical and aerial conditions ensure that in Eastern Canada they will always be much easier to obtain direct by radio. The development of daily chain broadcasting in Canada from Canadian points is not old enough yet to enable one to judge its influence. The United States network features still hold great interest to listeners, particularly in the late hours. The consequence of the preference for American programs has been, in Major Borrett's opinion, most helpful to international friendship. Americans have become, through radio, better known and better liked. "A whole vocabulary of American jest and humor is acquired and appreciated, while for Eastern Canadians the British humorist is hard to follow." Besides these influences, casually and indirectly operative, there are the programs planned to promote good will, especially the International Radio Party, at Miami, Florida; the Maritime Provinces Program, at Hartford, Connecticut; the program directed by the Honorable Artillery Company, Boston; *Hands Across the Border*, a Canadian Radio Commission feature, coming from New York, and dedicated in turn to each of the nine Canadian Provinces. Thus, both incidentally and deliberately, radio has been made to serve as an international interpreter, and it has been Major Borrett's experience that its positive value in creating friendliness has not been seriously—though it has been noticeably—impaired through the irritation caused by constant advertising in the United States broadcasts and the frequent boastfulness of speakers dealing with American achievements and glory. "Reasonable critics," he said, "feel that boasting

intended only for the ears of their own people is not a fault in patriotic orators, nor does it call for severe foreign criticism; they feel, moreover, too grateful for the splendor of the musical entertainment to complain of its setting in tooth-paste advertisements." But he attaches much greater importance to the performance of "gangster" and "hold-up" pieces. These, Major Borrett thinks, have been productive in the Maritime Provinces of "disgust and a touch of contempt" for American life and institutions.

The enormous vogue of American programs is attested, not only by those who conduct the Canadian stations, but also by those who sell radio sets. These salesmen naturally elicit from prospective customers information about the sort of programs which they chiefly desire to hear, in order to judge the sort of instrument most suitable to their requirements. Not only juvenile listeners, but adults, want radio plays from New York, Boston, or Chicago, the interchange of blackfaced comedians, jazz and "snappy" songs and stage "wisecracks." A much smaller, but considerable, proportion seek the more serious parts of the radio programs; they want to listen to the Metropolitan Opera, to the Boston Symphony Orchestra, to Mr. Lowell Thomas commenting on international affairs, to a sermon by Dr. Harry Emerson Fosdick, to a broadcast on public policy by President Roosevelt. But it is the experience of the radio salesmen that the feature of entertainment in light music or in comedy is the one which holds by far the widest popular appeal, and this feature has hitherto been almost taken over by the American stations. Neither Canadian nor British broadcasting can be said to include it at all. Thus we get the startling judgment that while in Nova Scotia the demand for radio has been so keen as to have pushed the industry now almost to the "saturation point," the success of the salesmen would not have been possible without the attraction of American programs.

It was, however, the report of dealers in the winter of 1934 that only the all-wave radio was saleable on any large scale, as customers would buy only such sets as would serve in reception from Europe. According to Mr. V. S. Josey, of the *Phinney Music Company*, Halifax, "They want to get London at two o'clock in the afternoon; the appetite for American programs has been cut into very seriously by the development of short-wave. On the other hand, short-wave

reception is restricted to daytime—in the evenings, one turns to the American stations." It is also suggested that an indirect effect of the accessibility of British programs in Canada and the United States has led to an improvement in the quality of the American programs analogous to the improvement in quality of American motion pictures attributed to British competition.

Another aspect of American radio programs must not be overlooked. They furnish an account of sporting events in which the people of Eastern Canada take a great interest: the International Yacht Race, boxing bouts, the World Series Baseball, and the college football games.

The correspondence of the Canadian Radio Commission[3] from listeners in the Maritime Provinces on the exchange of programs with the National Broadcasting Company and the Columbia Broadcasting System is full of enthusiasm for the operas of the Metropolitan Opera Company, New York, for the Philharmonic concerts and for the New York Symphony, which is brought to listeners "without blatant advertising and trash." On the other hand there have been complaints about exchanges which shock some Canadian susceptibilities, e.g., broad comedy on Sunday evening. To some extent the function of the Canadian Radio Commission has been analogous to that of the Censor of Motion Pictures, for it has eliminated items likely to cause offense or irritation. But it has had a positive aspect also in providing definitely Canadian entertainment. The Commission is even in a position to dispute the statement that radios could not have been sold on a large scale but for the American programs, for sales rose by 100 per cent after the establishment of the Canadian Radio Commission.

III. *Comments in the Winnipeg Press in the Years 1931–34 on Radio Broadcasting.* (By Mrs. R. F. McWilliams.)

As in the discussion of motion pictures, it seems desirable to anticipate part of our discussion of the Winnipeg press for the years 1931–34 (Chapter XIII) to the extent of considering the comments on broadcasting. In commenting on an article in the *Atlantic Monthly*, by Professor William Orton, the *Free Press*

3. To which the author was courteously given access.

(January 7, 1931) cites the advice of an N.B.C. official as quoted by Professor Orton:

"Present your specialty on the level of a thirteen-year-old. Do not overrate the intelligence of your audience."

and goes on to say:

That apparently is the goal of the United States system, and it is the system which must control Canadian radio if private enterprise continues in the saddle. Not a system like it, which would be disturbing to contemplate, but which would at least be a Canadian system, but the American system itself [would prevail in Canada]. . . . If the present policy continues, Canada will become almost indistinguishable from the United States so far as Radio is concerned.

The establishment of a national radio system is mentioned again on February 12, 1931:

The whole trend of experience argues that the private ownership of radio results in this country becoming an integral part of the United States. Canada has six wave-lengths and eleven shared lengths out of ninety-six for Canada and the United States.

That is the bright idea of Washington . . . there will still be the exposure from the United States . . . the air bombardment of this country.

This recognition in the United States that more or less openly commercial interests controlling radio in the United States are placing the full power of their influence behind that section of Canadian opinion in favor of the status quo. . . .

On March 12, 1931, when the United States had refused to give up any of their large share of the ninety-six wave lengths, the *Free Press* wrote:

Canada never consented to this arrangement, but now the United States announce the difficulty is that Canada has too much of the air.

and in reply to the suggestion that apportionment should be on the basis of population, asked, "Why not on area, or on distance served?"

The *Tribune*, on November 27, 1931, discusses radio problems:

It is entirely possible by rational control to make Canadian programs so excellent that the United States listeners will reach out for them in preference to the endless ballyhoo from their own stations.

The *Free Press* (February 10, 1932) insists on a Dominion policy:

The situation has clarified itself to the extent that it is now plainly seen that the argument is not between public ownership and private enterprise of radio in Canada. It is between public ownership and private monopoly of another country. . . . Only through public ownership can we secure a system powerful enough to withstand American influences, whether from the point of view of power in the ether, or of being bought and sold.

To this argument the *Free Press* returns again and again. (March 11, 18, 22, 26, and 29, 1932.) On April 13, 1932, it writes:

This continent is mapped out as a private ownership area for radio by the great United States business interests that see profit, kudos and influence in control of the air. . . . They do not propose to let Government ownership make headway in Canada . . . [it] might prove contagious. . . . Just about as Canadian as the telephone company that last December made it impossible to carry out the proposed Empire broadcast on Christmas Day. The refusal to coöperate was announced in Canada, but the policy was made in New York.

Two days later it says:

Both [Dr. J. E. Morgan and Dr. Lee de Forest] agree that private enterprise has degenerated in the United States into what is designated as a racket. . . . The boasted American freedom of the air has been seized upon by shrewd business to exact heavy toll from advertisers, to impose impudent mediocrity on a helpless public who must listen. . . . The bulk of American broadcasting today is controlled by big business . . . the electrical trust foremost.

With the appointment of the Canadian Radio Commission, this stream of editorials ceased. On April 18, 1933, the *Free Press* is able to strike a pleasanter note:

The offer of the two great American radio companies, National Broadcasting Company and Columbia Broadcasting System, to the Canadian Radio Corporation of all their sustaining programs over Canada's stations, free of charge, is a gesture of such courtesy that it deserves "broadcast" notice.

But its attachment to Government control remains unshaken. In commenting on the evidence of the use of radio in selling Insull

securities to the public, which came out before the United States Senate Banking Committee, the *Free Press* (November 8, 1934) says:

> These disclosures are drawn attention to here merely to point out that in following the British example by keeping radio broadcasting under public control, Canada has safeguarded its own people from such subtle forms of financial propaganda within its own bounds.

IV. *Conclusions.*

As was the case with motion pictures, the influence which radio broadcasting exerts on opinion is complex. There are the same obvious direct effects, the advertisement of American merchandise and the creation of common tastes in programs. But the radio makes a different type of emotional appeal, for what is presented to the public is not an artificial picture of an event but the event itself, and vast numbers of people can feel in some sort of emotional touch with one another when they are listening at the same instant to the same words. The forces of opposition which have united against American radio are not the same as those which have allied themselves against the motion pictures. The moral appeal has been less marked, though by no means non-existent; but the national appeal has been much stronger and the newspapers have at times contended that Canada's national identity was menaced. It is true that in opposing commercial radio, which competes with them much more seriously than government-controlled radio for the patronage of advertisers, newspapers are not the most disinterested of advisers. But there were strong national sentiments involved, and Canada has adopted a national radio policy which has, however, proceeded very slowly because of the financial straits in which the Dominion Government found itself. In September, 1935, the then Prime Minister announced, in his election broadcast, that if he was returned to power his government would proceed with the construction of more high-powered stations. In the meantime the impressive electoral success of Mr. Aberhart in the provincial elections in Alberta, by means of a Social Credit party which he had built up largely through his radio broadcasts, has called attention to another problem which governmental control will have to face: that of the latitude to be allowed not to the salesmen of securities but to the salesmen of get-rich-quick schemes in national policy.

In the rapidly changing conditions of today, this is not the only development which has taken place since the bulk of this chapter was written. For the British Broadcasting Corporation is developing its short-wave broadcasts and promises to make them available at hours which suit the convenience of listeners in all parts of Canada.[4] There is no reason to anticipate that these broadcasts will compete in popularity with the American entertainments to which Canadians are accustomed. But they are likely to find specialized groups who are interested in them, and if they do, they will sustain the belief that in serious educational value the British Broadcasting Corporation has outclassed its American rivals.

As has been amply apparent in other connections, it is not always the country which is best known that is most favorably viewed, and distance may once again act as a filter in excluding much that is drab and sordid, while allowing free passage to much that is of value. Many writers would have gained in reputation, if not financially, had their work been passed through such a filter, and it is quite possible that British prestige in broadcasting may be enhanced by conditions which at first glance appear as handicaps. Nor need this influence be confined to Canada, for the similarity in time which in the past few years has given American broadcasting an enormous advantage over any British broadcast, will enable programs designed for listeners in British Columbia to be heard in Washington, Oregon, or California, and programs designed for the Prairies to be heard in the Middle Western States.

4. *See* "British Empire Broadcasting," *Round Table,* September, 1935.

CHAPTER VII

AMERICAN PERIODICAL LITERATURE

I. *The Opposition to American Periodicals in Canada.* (By J. A. Stevenson.)

An older influence on Canadian opinion and attitudes than either the motion pictures or the radio has been the circulation in Canada of American periodical literature. The reception of this reading matter has given rise to perennial discussions. The general lines of argument are easy to grasp. On the one hand the advantages to Canadians of obtaining American periodicals are many and obvious: early access to news at a time when Canadian news services were immature; access both for instruction and entertainment to the highly diversified and specialized periodical literature which has grown up in the United States; a knowledge of American life and American conditions which Canadians are never tired of contrasting with the relative ignorance of Canadian conditions among the Americans whom they meet. But there are disadvantages as well, which even those whose prejudices are entirely in favor of free trade in thought cannot but admit. In the first place the development of Canadian periodicals has been retarded because part of their natural market has been withheld from them. This retardation has reacted seriously on Canadian advertisers who find access to their Canadian customers relatively more difficult and expensive than might otherwise have been the case, and on Canadian authors whose natural patrons have been impoverished. One can follow the vicious circle by which publishers find it hard to make their publications attractive, since Americans can outbid them for the services of the authors, and hard to make their publications pay, because of the limited circulation which they can offer to their advertisers.

If we are left unmoved by the economic plight of Canadian authors, publishers and advertisers we have still to consider the alleged danger to Canadian national life of excessive reliance on foreign reading matter. There can be, at this point, an alliance between economic self-interest and patriotic sentiment. And patriotic sentiment can take, as in the case of the motion pictures and the

radio, either the form of solicitude for the maintenance of British traditions or that of protest against the danger of bad influences from the United States. In other words there can be an alliance between puritanism and patriotism. The triple alliance thus completed is enormously influential and we shall find that the Canadian Government took action in protection of Canadian publishers analogous to the setting up of the censorship of films by the provinces or of the Radio Commission by the Dominion. This action has since been reversed as part of a trade agreement with the United States.

II. *The Campaign of Canadian Publishers for Protection.* (By J. A. Stevenson.)

A glance at the final effort in securing legislative action will initiate us into the mysteries of the controversy. The issue was raised in acute form in October, 1926, when the Advisory Board on Tariffs and Taxation, which had been established by Mr. Mackenzie King's government, heard an application by the Magazine Publishers' Association of Canada for a duty on all foreign magazines, periodicals and newspapers entering Canada. Their case for protection was set forth in a brief presented by Mr. John Atkins, secretary of the Association.[1] It shows how an economic argument can be reinforced with anti-American sentiment in order to secure the greatest political effect.

The Magazine Publishers' Association of Canada, representing an industry which employs thousands of Canadian workmen, pays hundreds of thousands of dollars annually in wages, uses hundreds of thousands of dollars annually of Canadian material, and contributes hundreds of thousands of dollars annually to the Canadian National Treasury, herewith respectfully presents to this Board . . . evidence of what it considers to be favors and unfair advantages at present conferred in Canada upon foreign publications, energetically circulated by the million in this country —favors secured at a time when Canada was small and foreign circulations were not forced.

Possibly no other industry in Canada is similarly situated. All of our raw materials—paper, ink, engravings, art work, etc.—are subject to sales tax and to heavy duties. Our plant and equipment is subject to sales tax

1. Hearing No. 9 of Tariff Board, February 2, 1927.

and duties ranging from ten to twenty-five per cent (with the exception of newspaper presses which enter Canada duty free). We are taxed, super-taxed and sales-taxed to the extent of many thousands of dollars annually on this raw material and plant equipment, while the United States publisher brings his finished product into Canada free of all duties and import taxes.

On grounds of common justice to the Canadian publishing industry, as well as on national grounds, the Canadian publishers ask that it be made possible for us to compete with foreign publishers in our own market on a fair basis.

According to figures issued by the Dominion Bureau of Statistics, the value of foreign magazines, newspapers and periodicals imported into Canada jumped from $960,000 in 1912 to $2,991,993 in the fiscal year 1925–1926. . . .

The increase in the number of copies of magazines imported is even greater than the above figures indicate, because the prices of several of the biggest sellers have been reduced during the period. The actual increase is more accurately indicated in Table A, attached, which shows an increase of 80 per cent in the Canadian circulation of some twenty-five United States publications in the brief space of three years. . . . These twenty-five United States publications alone—out of a total of over 300—have a circulation in Canada of nearly 25,000,000 copies a year. The total circulation in Canada is over 50,000,000 copies annually. For every copy of a magazine printed and produced in Canada, we import more than eight copies of United States magazines.

To this figure must be added the United States daily and week-end newspapers which are flooding Canada almost as deeply and as widely as the United States magazines. Between 15,000,000 and 20,000,000 copies of these United States newspapers enter Canada annually. Together the United States magazines and newspapers entering the Dominion of Canada reach the staggering total of 70,000,000 copies annually. More than 1,300,000 magazines, printed in the United States, edited in the United States and catering to the tastes of United States readers, enter Canada each week of the year—more than one for every English-speaking family in the Dominion.

The discontinuance within a few years of such Canadian publications as *Canada Weekly*, *Canadian Courier*, *Woman's Century*, *Canadian Pictorial*, *Everywoman's World* and others out of a relatively small list is striking proof of the seriousness of this foreign competition, and of the handicaps under which Canadian publishers have to labor. The facts submitted herewith demonstrate that it would be a decided advantage for a Canadian publisher to establish a plant in Buffalo or Detroit, employ United States

labor and ship his publications into Canada to be mailed here through the Canadian post office, thus robbing Canadian labor of its rights and depriving the Government of the duty on unprinted paper. In other words, we could bring in a carload of printed magazines duty free on the same train hauling a carload of blank paper on which duty could be exacted. . . .

Besides these disadvantages, the Canadian publisher has others to contend with. Canadian publishers have less than 7,000,000 English-speaking people to cater to, as compared with over 110,000,000 in his home market for the United States publisher. In supplying his home market the latter has all his overhead and initial costs taken care of, and 100,000 or more extra copies of his publication easily can be run off for the Canadian market at nothing more than the cost of the extra paper and ink. Leadership in circulation is such an important factor in American publishing success that no field in which increased circulation may be secured is overlooked. Canada offers a market, which, aggressively exploited, as it is, yields a handsome volume of additional circulation. As the American fight for place brings the United States publications nearer to the point of circulation saturation in their own country, Canada is intensively cultivated to yield the extra thousands, or hundreds of thousands, necessary to tip the circulation scale. Large magazines such as the *Saturday Evening Post, Ladies' Home Journal, Woman's Home Companion, Liberty*, etc., come into Canada at a mere fraction of the cost of the paper in these publications. This has compelled Canadian publishers to reduce their prices to a point much below the cost of the raw materials going into the publications. The only alternative is for them to go out of business.

In the United States, the deficit or loss from the sale of copies is made up by the large volume of advertising available. In Canada this is not possible to the same extent. And Canadian publishers cannot extend their circulation into the United States. For a magazine cannot afford to secure circulation in a market that it cannot sell to its advertisers. Canadian publishers cannot sell United States circulation to Canadian advertisers, because the latter are not interested in the United States market.

On the other hand, United States publishers have a direct incentive in securing circulation in Canada, because they can sell it to most of their advertisers. Canadian circulation is sold by some American publishers as added measure or as a premium. The American advertiser doing business in Canada is led to believe that he can cover the Canadian market with this advertising at no extra cost. United States manufacturers not now selling their products in Canada know that the circulation of American magazines in our country paves the way for the introduction of their goods to our market when they are ready to develop trade in our territory.

The Canadian manufacturer is directly affected. On the average United States magazines are more than half filled with advertising—advertising of United States products, not Canadian. Over 25,000,000 pounds of advertising come into Canada each year in these publications. When it is realized that the 70,000,000 copies of United States magazines and newspapers coming into Canada carry over 440,000,000 pages of advertising one gets a better idea of the colossal volume of propaganda for United States products coming in through this channel and directed at our Canadian public and which our Canadian manufacturer has to fight. Representative opinions of Canadian manufacturers are presented. . . .

Yet another phase of this situation is that quite a substantial sum of money is levied against the Canadian branch houses of United States concerns to pay for the share of the advertising coming into Canada in United States magazines they are using. It is estimated that a sum not less than $500,000 is paid out each year by Canadian branch houses for this purpose. . . . The money is charged to the advertising appropriations of the Canadian branches and, if not spent in this way, would be available for advertising in our own Canadian publications, magazines and newspapers with direct benefit to all concerned with the advertising and publishing business in this country.

The above is a direct loss, but it must also be remembered that a number of United States concerns, in some cases with no plant or establishment in Canada and spending no money for advertising in this country, are able to do a large business in Canada because of the stimulus to their sales given by the advertising in United States magazines circulating in this country. If these concerns did not have the overflow circulation to depend on, they would spend money in Canada in order to tell of their products to the Canadian people. From this source it is estimated that another $500,000 would be spent in Canadian magazines and newspapers if any substantial curtailment of United States magazines in Canada should be brought about.

Yet another phase of the question is this. In several cases American magazines are merely super-catalogues for manufacturers of patterns. Such publications as some of the *Butterick* group, the *Pictorial Review*, *McCall's* and others are issued by publishers, whose chief source of revenue is pattern sales. Canadian publishers cannot absorb publishing deficits in pattern profits.

In considering the broader questions arising from the invasion of Canada by American publications, it should be noted that United States publishers, with their larger purchasing power, are able to, and do, monopolize the work of many of the best authors and artists, withholding it from Canadian

publishers by forbidding them to sell to Canadian magazines or newspapers [sic]. As long as they have large, and potentially larger, circulations in Canada, there is a direct incentive for them to do this.

With their larger number and greater frequency of issue, United States publications are able to crowd the Canadian product off our news stands, off our ships, and off our trains, making it always difficult, and often impossible, for the home-produced publication to get proper display. With their tremendous financial backing, the United States publishers are able to maintain large and efficient field forces, which constantly are influencing Canadian dealers to give prominence to their publications at the expense of Canadian magazines.

It may be pointed out that, while there are some [sic] United States magazines and newspapers, such as the *Atlantic Monthly*, and the New York *Times*, which can properly be considered of good reading value, the circulations of this better type of publication are small in comparison to those of another class, magazines which circulate by the tens of thousands throughout Canada. They are cheaply printed on cheap paper, and devoted almost entirely to fiction that is sensational, suggestive and generally as demoralizing as the publishers dare to make them. In this connection the Canadian publisher accepts a moral handicap. I do not think you have in Canada any publisher of means who would stoop to profit by the publication of such literature.

These magazines are purchased almost entirely by boys, girls, young men and young women. Everyone has seen them on display and it is needless to dwell on the effect of such literary swill [sic] on the youth of this country. Even if there were no desirability of fostering a healthy Canadian magazine press, it would seem to be desirable to eliminate as far as possible the circulation of this class of magazine in the national interests of this Dominion. When it is remembered, however, that by reason of the importation of these magazines, British and Canadian publications are unable to find a place on the ordinary Canadian news stand, the need for action by our Government surely needs no further argument. These are national effects and of vital consideration to every member of the Government and of Parliament, as well as of every citizen of Canada, because every man, woman and child in Canada is affected, directly or indirectly. . . .

There can be no doubt that, freed of present handicaps, Canadian magazines would develop to take the place of those magazines eliminated from the Canadian market. More Canadian paper would be used; more pulp would be utilized here instead of being shipped out of the country. It would mean the development of the Canadian paper industry to a greater degree. It would give employment to more lumbermen and paper

makers. The Canadian engraving industry would feel the impetus of the development of Canadian-made magazines and periodicals. The Canadian Government also would receive, besides added revenue from other sources, a very much larger revenue from postage on magazines published in Canada. . . . If we printed these magazines in Canada, there would be an extension to the publishing industry of at least $15,000,000 a year paid out directly to publishers' employees in wages, and to allied and subsidiary industries, such as ink and paper manufacturers, engravers, etc., for material. The same would apply if American publishers were compelled to print Canadian editions of their products.

With the development of Canadian magazines, Canadian authors and artists would have a wider market for Canadian fiction, articles and illustrations, which would enable us to build up a strong Canadian literature, a matter of first importance to Canadian unity, the preservation of Canadian traditions and ideals, and the development of a national consciousness.

Canadian publishers would be enabled, by circulation increases, to maintain their present subscription prices, which certainly will have to be increased, even at the risk of curtailed circulation and curtailed publishing expenses, if present conditions continue to prevail.

III. *The Dissentient Minority.* (By J. A. Stevenson.)

This appeal, which is a special case of the argument for protection in which the economic considerations receive some reinforcement on moral and patriotic grounds, was backed by practically all the leading Canadian publishers. But it placed free trade, or low tariff organs, in a difficult position. The *Grain Growers' Guide* of Winnipeg met this difficulty by presenting a brief to the Advisory Board on Tariffs asking for the exemption of Canadian periodicals from the sales tax and for a drawback of 99 per cent of the duty on all paper, engravings, electrotypes, drawings, ink and machinery entering into the production of magazines and periodicals. The effect of this rather impractical request was, of course, to emphasize the case for protection which the majority of the publishers had submitted. Passing on from the question of cost to that of the importance of developing Canadian periodicals, the brief points out:[2]

It has been recognized in the United States that the magazine and farm journal publishing industry has been one of the important factors in the development of that nation. Not only has the nationally circulated

2. Hearing No. 9 of Tariff Board, February 2, 1927.

magazine had a profound effect by the dissemination of information and the education of the general public but also in the development of a national consciousness and a national spirit. This is one phase of the work of nationally circulated journals which is of the highest importance. There is another phase, however, namely the influence of these magazines as advertising media. Perhaps no other factor has assisted in so great a degree as the advertising pages of American magazines in making known American products throughout the length and breadth of that country. The commercial development of the United States has been due in no small degree to the development which has taken place in magazine advertising in that country.

There is, in Canada, an opportunity for the development of a magazine industry that, within the limits of our population, will compare very favorably with the development that has taken place in the United States, but that development can only take place when the magazine publishing industry of Canada is afforded a reasonably fair opportunity for expansion.

In order to build a self-reliant nation on the northern part of this continent, it is essential that the Canadian people be provided with the utmost information about Canadian problems. That we have problems no one will doubt. But that the development of high-class magazines, widely read throughout our nine provinces, will assist in bringing about a better mutual understanding and the inculcation of common ideals no one will question. There is a great dearth of such magazines in Canada today. In the last few years, however, Canadian magazines dealing with Canadian problems, fostering Canadian institutions, promoting Canadian development, are more highly appreciated by the Canadian public than ever before.

The Canadian people today enjoy access to a wider range of magazines and periodical literature than perhaps any other people. Our news stands are loaded with magazines and other journals published in the United States and Great Britain. We regard it as a high privilege which the Canadian people enjoy in being able to draw freely from the best periodical literature from these two great publishing countries. We feel that it would be a vital loss to Canada if any steps were taken, which would curtail materially the privilege which the Canadian people now enjoy of drawing upon the better class of imported literature.

While we would deprecate the curtailment of high-class periodical literature imported from any country into Canada, we would point out that, from the Canadian viewpoint, there is something lacking in all these periodicals. Imported periodicals, whether from Great Britain, France or the United States or any other country, pay little or no attention to any Canadian problems. They are naturally interested chiefly in the problems,

institutions, and views of their own country. Thus, while imported periodicals bring to the Canadian people a great deal of valuable world-wide information and a selection of good literature, they do not contribute directly to the solution of our Canadian problems. This is a function which can be performed only by periodicals published in Canada. . . .

As one of the largest magazine publishers in Canada, we do not seek or ask to have a tariff duty imposed upon imported magazines. The inferior and objectionable type of foreign magazine should be barred altogether. We believe that if Canadian magazine publishers are placed as far as possible upon an equal footing with American magazine publishers we can meet their competition. If our application is granted and all customs duties and sales tax are removed from the raw material, machinery and supplies, used in the production of magazines in Canada, we believe that within ten years the development of national and semi-national magazines will assume large proportions. From Halifax to Vancouver our national magazines will carry articles from the ablest pens in Canada, as well as contributions from the ablest writers in other countries. This Canadian magazine development, together with our ready access to imported periodicals, should have given Canada a very highly informed public opinion and our people would have a keener appreciation of our national problems and a more thorough determination to develop a self-reliant nation. If, after these artificial handicaps are removed from the Canadian magazine publishing industry, it is still suffering from foreign competition, then, and then only, we believe, will the time have arrived to restrict periodical literature from other countries.

These proposals on behalf of the *Grain Growers' Guide* were naturally opposed by the representatives of the Canadian industries from which protection would have been withdrawn and by the Canadian Business Publishers' Association, representing a large group of trade papers.

IV. *The Action of the Canadian Government.* (By J. A. Stevenson.)

What recommendations the Advisory Board made to the Government as to these applications were never disclosed to the public, but the Liberal Ministry of Mr. Mackenzie King, since it professed antagonism to higher tariffs, could not see its way to impose the duties demanded by the Canadian publishers; nor was it disposed to offend a variety of manufacturing interests by granting the request for lower duties on materials and supplies. When, however, Mr. Bennett came to power in July, 1930, with a mandate for high

protection, the Canadian magazine publishers made fresh representation at Ottawa which resulted in the imposition of stiff duties on American publications entering Canada.[3] The tariff items were:

184	Newspapers, unbound, n.o.p.; tailors', milliners' and mantlemakers' fashion plates, when imported in single copies in sheet form with periodical trade journals; magazines published in other than the English or French language	Free
184b	Magazines, including agricultural, business, technical and trade journals unbound or paper-bound, which, by reason of their advertising content, are subject in the country of origin to zone rates of postage based upon such advertising content:	
	(i) When the space devoted to advertisements exceeds ten per centum but does not exceed thirty per centum of the total space. . . . per copy	2 cents
	(ii) When the space devoted to advertisements exceeds thirty per centum of the total space. . . . per copy	5 cents
184c	Magazines in which the advertising matter does not exceed twenty per centum of the total space and magazines maintained by and in the interest of religious, educational, scientific, philanthropic, agricultural, labor or fraternal organizations, or associations not organized for profit and none of the net income of which inures to the benefit of any private individual	Free
184d	Periodicals or portions of newspapers consisting largely of fiction and/or feature stories or articles and/or comic supplements, per pound	15 cents
	Provided that duty under this tariff item shall be not less than, per copy 15 cents.	

The effect of these tariff regulations was that American daily newspapers came in free and high-class American periodicals, like the *Atlantic Monthly*, the *Forum* and the *New Republic*, were also immune from the duty. When dutiable publications entered in bulk, it was necessary for them to have entry passed before they were released from the Customs offices. When they were mailed separately, the duty was paid by the affixation to each copy of a stamp of the proper denomination. Publishers of magazines whose tariff classifica-

3. For an account of the debates in parliament *see* pp. 319–322.

tion depended on the proportion of space devoted to advertising were required to file, on or before the first days of February and August in each year, a statement showing the average percentage of total space devoted to advertisements in the previous six months.

Figures published by the Audit Bureau of Circulations indicate the consequences of the tariff and of the depression:[4]

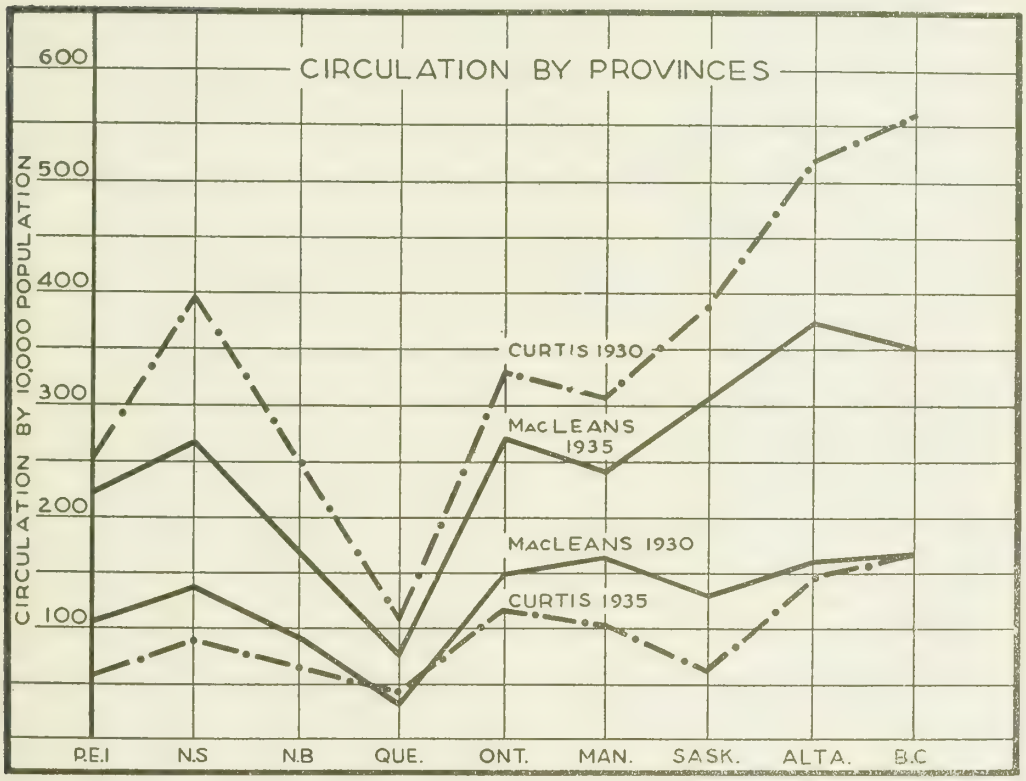
Circulation in Canada of United States Magazines

	June, 1930	*June, 1934*
American Boy	3,698	597
American Magazine	43,658	11,050
Atlantic Monthly	4,169	2,459
Forum and Century Magazine	1,566	334
Christian Herald	1,887	943
Collier's Weekly	75,576	16,373
Country Gentleman	96,076	7,603
Delineator	99,453	44,769
Good Housekeeping	55,000	39,932
Harper's Magazine	1,833	891
Hearst's International Cosmopolitan	52,774	32,499
House and Garden	3,739	1,365
Ladies' Home Journal	100,228	33,583
Life	5,694	2,882
Literary Digest	42,803	3,434
McCall's	139,772	72,223
Motion Picture Magazine	15,554	5,441
Needlecraft	28,258	5,059
Photoplay Magazine	33,132	7,606
Physical Culture Magazine	10,302	8,947
Pictorial Review	175,926	93,469
Popular Science Monthly	13,222	13,742
Red Book	47,210	18,680
Review of Reviews and World's Work	1,691	649
Saturday Evening Post	105,199	54,213
Scribner's	1,138	294
True Story	113,052	98,357
Vanity Fair	2,583	1,354
Vogue	5,851	3,754
Woman's Home Companion	74,261	19,985
Totals	1,266,802	602,497

4. It will be noted that the circulation of the more expensive publications decreased, although these might be immune from taxation.

Circulation for Five Leading Canadian National Magazines

	June, 1930	*June, 1934*
Canadian	85,704	110,121
Canadian Home Journal	131,998	206,978
Chatelaine	113,364	209,615
MacLean's	159,980	199,385
National Home Monthly	103,412	202,608
Totals	694,458	928,707



The impoverishment of the reading public, due to the depression, partly explains why the decrease in the circulation of American periodicals greatly exceeded the increase in the circulation of Canadian periodicals. But the figures cited take no account of some American magazines, such as *Liberty*, that escaped the magazine duty by printing a special Canadian edition in Canada which they offered at the old rates.

The chart of circulation by provinces prepared by Mr. S. Delbert Clark has been designed to show the consequences of the tariff

changes of 1931. For purposes of comparison, *MacLean's* of Toronto and the combined publications of the Curtis Publishing Company, which controls the *Saturday Evening Post*, have been chosen as appealing to substantially the same type of reading public. In each case the circulation in each Province of Canada per 10,000 of population is shown both for the year 1930 and for the year 1934.

The most striking feature of the chart is the low circulation of both sets of publications in the Province of Quebec, explained by the high proportion of French-speaking population. Both sets of publication do relatively best in the western provinces, where the population of the English-speaking population is high, where the per capita incomes are relatively high, and where the distance from England is greatest. The gains in circulation by *MacLean's* during the five-year period correspond fairly closely with the losses by the Curtis Publishing Company during the same period. It is true that the losses exceed the gains, but this is to be expected as the period under review was marked by an economic depression and a substantial drop in incomes. It is as yet too early to estimate the effect of the abolition of the customs duties in restoring the circulation of American periodicals.

Vigorous action has been taken against the cheaper American magazines which specialize in sex and "gangster" stories believed to have a corrupting influence on youthful minds. Section 13 of the Customs Tariff provides:

> The importation into Canada of any goods enumerated, described or referred to in Schedule C to this Act is prohibited; and any such goods imported shall thereby become forfeited to the Crown and shall be destroyed or otherwise dealt with as the Minister directs; and any person importing such prohibited goods, or causing or permitting them to be imported, shall for each offense incur a penalty not exceeding two hundred dollars.

Item 1201, Schedule C, of the Customs Tariff classifies as prohibited goods:

> Books, printed paper, drawings, prints, photographs, or representations of any kind of a treasonable or seditious, or of an immoral or indecent character.

Collectors of Customs and Excise, officers of various organizations and the public generally, forward to Ottawa samples of imported

books and other publications, whose contents have aroused criticism or suspicion, and the Examiner of Publications submits them to careful scrutiny. If he finds a publication revolutionary or indecent in character, a memorandum is issued to Collectors of Customs instructing them to bar its importation. A list of publications to which entry was forbidden during 1933 shows that many were of American origin.

While some of these publications may be estimable and their exclusion may conceivably occasion a loss to the cultural life of Canada, the censorship as exercised provokes only intermittent criticism and is generally accepted as keeping out a flood of worthless and pernicious literature. During the calendar year, 1933, the Examiner of Publications examined 593 publications, of which he excluded 67.

V. *A Special Study in the Maritime Provinces.* (By H. L. Stewart.)

A special study was made in the Maritime Provinces[5] of the influence of United States periodical literature, which constitutes one of the most important of the sources from which a conception of American life is derived. There is an enormous preponderance of American over both British and Canadian magazines. Those most widely read, by far, are the magazine sections of weekly newspapers, especially the Boston *Sunday Advertiser*, the Buffalo *Times*, the New York *Sunday News* and the New York *Sunday Mirror*, whose aggregate sale is probably not below 50,000 copies a week.

Next to the weekly papers in popular appeal come the weekly or monthly American magazines unconnected with a newspaper, and devoted to stories of "Love and Romance." The leader in such circulation is the magazine called *True Story*. Of minor, but substantial, importance are *True Romance, True Experience, Dream World, Love Story*.

Third in order come such American weeklies as *Liberty* and the *Saturday Evening Post*. Fourth we must place the magazines with special interest for women, dealing with household or fashion topics, such as the *Pictorial Review*, the *Ladies' Home Journal*, *McCall's Magazine*. Nearly equal to these in circulation are the

5. A few comments on the effect of American periodicals in Ontario are made on p. 47, and on their effect in Quebec in Chapter XVII.

Detective Stories, Moving Picture Magazines and the Sport Stories. After a long interval come the American magazines of a higher type, such as the *Atlantic*, *Scribner's*, *Harper's*, *Current History*.

A glance at the newspapers published in the Maritime Provinces, side by side with samples of the British and United States press, will make clear how powerful has been the American influence. The character of the headlines, the stock journalistic titles and phrases, the dialect, the distribution of space, all show an American rather than a British model. Herein the assimilation of the two peoples on this continent has proceeded so far that the press of each is felt to contain the very language of the other, while to each the British newspaper has both a look and style strangely exotic. The sale throughout the Maritime Provinces of newspapers and magazines published in New York or Boston rather than of those published in London is not due to the fact that the American publications are quickly accessible, while the British are relatively "out of date," for it is seldom as a channel for immediate news that either is bought, and the special articles or stories do not depend on this for their interest. It is plain that what attracts is rather the form and method of an American publication, which the reader of the Maritime Provinces has come to prefer—very much as he often explains his preference for the American "talkies" on the ground that he cannot easily follow the "English accent."

This influx of American publications, which has increased enormously within the last generation, has served to introduce the American people to the Canadian. The Canadian reader, not only through the obviously better sort of American magazine, but through even the lower sort, on its better side, has come to know United States life as no longer that of a remotely foreign country, but in innumerable details of its sport, its inventions, its industry, its social organization. Even the advertisements, menacing as they are said to be to the products of Canadian manufacture, serve to bring home, in warmth and intimacy of detail, American home life, so that the advertising page has been compared with the slang of the American radio comedians, or the comic strip in an American weekly, as valuable for breaking down those dividing barriers which were too familiar not very long ago.

Still more obviously important is the circulation, on a scale very

substantial and probably growing, of the best American magazines, in which the problems of American government and American international policy are so often presented with the conscious purpose of making United States difficulties better understood abroad. Here again, there is an indefinable, but very real, community of manner and presentation which makes the first-rate magazine more congenial to the temper and interests of the average Eastern Canadian reader than the corresponding magazine from Great Britain. Such is, perhaps, among the clearest proofs of the existence of what may be called a "North American temperament." The magazine literature is at once a revealing symptom and a producing cause of those similarities in taste, in feeling, in individual curiosity, which bring the northern and southern parts of this continent together and separate them alike from the people of the older world. Rather significantly, it turns out that the only two Canadian weekly papers which can for a moment compete in circulation with the American weeklies are the Montreal *Standard* and the Toronto *Star*, so similar in many of their features to papers printed on the other side of the border, and with the part which forms, perhaps, their chief attraction purely American.

When we are authoritatively informed that knowledge of United States life is communicated each week by at least 50,000 copies of one specified sort of newspaper, to at least that number and probably to two or three times that number of readers in the Maritime Provinces, it becomes important to inquire what sort of picture is therein habitually shown. For we may safely assume that Canadian readers of the American Sunday weeklies noted above obtain their ideas about American life uncorrected from any other sources of information, and merely supplemented with similar material from cinema or radio.

A glance at a typical issue of this sort of newspaper will show the conception of American life which is thus naturally absorbed and fixed in the mind by constant illustration from week to week. The taste which these papers exploit is for sensational news of every sort—scandals on a huge scale in American cities, gigantic and successful impostures, the doings of a Dillinger and an Insull, the adventures of a professional co-respondent who has supplied "evidence" in 100 divorce cases, racketeering and hold-ups, sexual

offences, gambling feats at card parties, intimate details about movie stars at Hollywood, and, in short, whatever falls under the name so familiar in Sunday weeklies—"glamorous life." There is neither attempt nor desire to supply news of the country's serious concerns, and for the reader in the Maritime Provinces whose introduction is through this medium alone, the inference is that the interests which his own country thinks serious have no place in the minds of those who are really influential and prosperous in the United States. Features altogether exceptional and aberrant are thus accepted as characteristic of American civilization. Without definitely stating it even to himself, the unsophisticated reader comes to assume that respect for law, integrity in public officials and the impartial justice of courts are a British tradition which America does not even profess to share. It is a possible, if most regrettable, step to the inference that Canadians must expect American business men and American diplomatists to negotiate on a moral level distinctly lower than their own.

One observes this tendency in the frequent emphasis laid by Canadian editorial writers on some example of a British administrator who could not be bribed, a British judge whose inflexibility was unaffected by social pressure, or the calm process of British courts even where public passion might have been expected to anticipate legal punishment. There is a constant hint, and not seldom an explicit insistence, in Canadian papers that these are cases of virtue common in England, to which American practice would be unlikely to furnish a parallel, but abounds everywhere in contrast. Stories of lynching, set forth in the New York and Boston weeklies with gruesome detail, are first greedily devoured by the Halifax or St. John reader, and then made a text in his local newspaper to remind him how it is only the old country inheritance which has preserved Canada from sinking to a like level. Of similarly regrettable effect is the incessant stress laid, by such American papers as Eastern Canadians habitually read, upon the paramount power of money, upon its omnipotence to decide elections, upon the social injustices it can obtain through "lobbying," and the official connivances it can buy, on the success with which—by means of it—legislative changes, whose enactment cannot be stopped, may be rendered nugatory in practice. The United States under Prohibition

supplied an inexhaustible field for such jesting, and the general effect was to diffuse among outside readers of this sort of American magazine a most deplorable misapprehension of American character. This is deeply but fruitlessly lamented by those responsible for education. "Most of our pupils in schools," writes a Nova Scotian principal of long experience, "learn from American magazines, movies and radio to look upon the United States as the happy hunting ground of gamblers, swindlers, gangsters and their ilk."[6]

An important influence upon Canadian-American feeling has been exercised by the United States newspapers and magazines which alternately arraign British "imperialist" policy and insist that Great Britain (with other European powers) is defrauding the American taxpayer through default on war loans.

For a considerable period the Boston *American*, a Hearst paper which caters to readers of Irish origins, was banned from Canadian newspaper stores. This action was taken because it was held to be habitually misrepresenting and consequently slandering British statesmen; for example, by exhibiting their treatment of Ireland and of India as a piece of racial arrogance and financial exploitation. The Boston *American* can now again be exposed for sale in the cities and towns of the Maritime Provinces, but the memory of its attitude of a few years back is still vivid, and the large American circulation of that type of journal has made Canadians suspect that such anti-British sentiment across the border must be both wide and deep. A natural reaction follows. Part at least of the fierce resentment in such groups as the Imperial Order Daughters of the Empire seems to be thus explicable. Retaliatory criticisms are of course elicited, recalling the United States procedure in regard to the Philippines and to the republics of Latin America. Such newspaper influences are not readily counteracted by the common explanation, always put forward to maintain international good will, that the Hearst press is not typical or representative, that its tone is condemned by all that is best in American journalism, and that such writing is meant merely to catch the anti-British vote in some future contest. Those newspapers and magazines of "best" character are unfortunately not read in the circle for which the sensationalism

6. This opinion can be compared with the evidence of pupils themselves in Chapter XVI.

of the Boston *American* proves attractive; and it is felt that if anti-British articles are so serviceable for party warfare in the United States, here is at least evidence of the prevailing disposition from those who ought to know it well. Moreover the tone in which world affairs are discussed and British policy criticized by such superior publications as the New York *Nation* and the *New Republic* is, at times, no less exasperating to the Eastern Canadian whose British patriotism is keen.

Within the last few years, except for the tariff (which is always an irritant, in a class by itself), the chief provocative of angry comment has been the American attitude to British War Debts. Mr. Coolidge's question, "Well, didn't they hire the money?" as emphasized and illustrated in newspaper after newspaper from across the border, has brought back the old recrimination about America's long delay before entering the war, about her huge financial profits out of it in the years 1914–1917, and, in general, about her "notorious concern for her own interests only." Of 1,800 school pupils who replied to a questionnaire, while 1,445 selected "boastful" as the adjective most suitable to describe American character, 366 chose "grasping." It is an echo of the talk in their homes. The boys and girls writing these answers professed in 1,425 cases a knowledge of the United States "by contact through relatives," and the interchange of newspapers here plays a great part. So the "freedom from entangling alliances" is once more construed as aloofness; America's refusal to join the League of Nations is satirically recalled, with comment on the New York journals as justifying Cain's unwillingness to be his brother's keeper, and the article in a Hearst newspaper which charges Great Britain with repudiation of a just debt is met with the statement of a counter-claim against various American States on behalf of British bondholders whose rights they have ignored for many decades.

How far the people of the Maritime Provinces are made to dislike the United States by these considerations is a question by no means easy to determine. There is a sensitiveness to the attacks on Great Britain which, from time to time, is wounded, and an "imperial" reaction may go far, as in 1911. But if the first glow of panegyric upon American "idealism" in 1917 has passed away, so, too, has the fierceness of post-war abuse; there is a widely prevalent idea that

the United States showed an economic good sense in looking after her own interests which others might profitably imitate. Not so much the demand for the repayment of War Debts as the exactions of the Fordney-McCumber and Hawley-Smoot tariffs affected Eastern Canadian judgment, so that sympathy with the British taxpayer probably has derived no small part of its strength from discontent with the fortunes of the Nova Scotian farmer and the New Brunswick lumberman. Thus a hospitable ear is lent to the charge of "selfishness" in both fields. The American newspapers most widely read in that part of Canada supply abundant quotable material which "patriotic" propagandists know how to use. It has yet to be seen how far opinion will respond to the tariff agreement negotiated by Mr. King.

VI. *Conclusions.*

In the case of American periodicals, even more clearly than in that of motion pictures or of radio, we find an Americanizing influence widely accepted by the Canadian people and yet opposed to some extent by special groups on grounds of morality, nationalism, or economic interest. In dealing with periodicals, the counterpart of the Boards of Censors and of the Radio Commission has been the Tariff, and here, too, the Americanizing influence has, for a time at least, been brought under national control with very little protest from those whose entertainment was affected.

One novel point has arisen in the case of American publications. We have had to consider the effect on Canadian opinion of harsh criticism or abuse of Great Britain. It cannot be too strongly emphasized that the effect is deplorable. While a few Canadians may say that they agree with the American stand on War Debts, they are a negligible minority in comparison with those who sympathize with Great Britain, and every harsh word from Americans strengthens these sympathies. Nor are Canadians slow to draw a comparison between the charges leveled against Great Britain and the evils of American society of which the American periodicals make them acutely conscious, and to regard Americans as grotesquely ill-cast in the rôle of moral censors. There is a certain unity between the angry response of those who feel that aspersions have been cast where none were deserved and the calmer judgment of men of

education who feel that even the best American papers rarely discuss Great Britain in the same spirit of sympathetic friendliness as they have come to recognize as appropriate between the United States and Canada.

In the next chapter we shall see how Canadian newspapers have acted to protect their news services against excessive American influences. In Chapters VIII, XI–XIII we shall have to examine the influence on opinion of the Canadian press, and the way in which it has endeavored to imitate the attractive features of American publications while sparing the susceptibilities of the Canadian public sufficiently to be able to pose as a beneficent influence on the moral life of Canada and on Canadian national ideals.

CHAPTER VIII

CANADIAN NEWSPAPERS

I. *Introduction.*

The press has a very obvious value, which will be considered in Chapters XI, XII and XIII, as evidence of popular opinions and attitudes. What we have to consider here is the part, if any, which it plays in their formation. We can begin by distinguishing the persistent and almost unconscious effect on opinion which is exercised by the accuracy and selection of information and the tone in which it is conveyed, from the more formal comment upon it which constitutes a deliberate attempt to lead or guide the reader to the goal chosen, from good, bad or indifferent motives, by the writer. Thus it would be conceivable, though not probable, that two newspapers of strongly opposed political tendencies might supply their readers with the same news, from the same sources, subjected to the same standard of accuracy and presented in a tone of dispassionate neutrality, while their comments on the news might be of the most controversial character. What is more likely is that the selection and presentation of the news would be colored, to some extent at least, by the same tendencies as are manifested in the comments, and what is quite possible is that an appearance of fairness both in selecting news and in commenting on it may conceal a skilful process of suggestion. Finally, as we have noticed (Chapter VII) in discussing the influence of American periodicals, newspapers contain much besides news and so may influence opinion, and indeed the whole cultural outlook of the people, by the type of reading matter which they present.

II. *Organization of the Canadian Press.* (By J. A. Stevenson.)

With these considerations in mind, we shall begin by a brief examination of the organization of the Canadian Press, which continues an account given in an earlier chapter (pp. 60–62). The Canadian Press is the name given to the national coöperative news-gathering and distributing organization of the daily newspapers of Canada. It operates under a Dominion charter and claims to be national because it covers with its news ramifications

the entire Dominion from Halifax to the Yukon, and because, apart from one or two minor exceptions, it includes within its membership every daily newspaper in Canada. It is coöperative because every member places freely at the disposal of the association the news of its city or assigned territory. It has no share capital and is mutual because it is not operated for profit, and all members bear a proportionate share in the ascertained cost on the basis of the ratio which the population of the field which each serves bears to the total population of the Dominion. Each member enjoys equal rights and privileges with every other member, on the basis of one vote. New members in an unoccupied field, where no daily paper already exists, are freely admitted, but where a new paper seeks to establish itself in an occupied field, the applicant must satisfy the board of directors that the venture is commercially feasible and that the necessary financial resources are available. But these conditions, designed to insure the *bona fides* and stability of each new enterprise, have never proved excessively onerous, for never in the history of the Canadian Press has there been a rejection of an application of a publisher who has given reasonable proof of his capacity to publish a daily paper in his selected field. At intervals aggrieved parties have made the charge that the Canadian Press was a close monopoly, and that without membership in its sacred circle it was impossible to publish a daily newspaper in Canada; but in point of fact there is no fundamental restriction of membership in the Canadian Press such as there is in the case of the Associated Press of the United States, whose memberships in a city such as New York have a tremendous value.

The activities of the Canadian Press are under the control of a Board of Directors elected each year. They are fifteen in number; two from the Maritime Provinces, eight from Quebec and Ontario, two from Manitoba and the head of the lakes, and one each from Saskatchewan, Alberta and British Columbia.

A history of the evolution of the Canadian Press is essential to an understanding of its present functions. For many years after the Associated Press was firmly established in the United States, Canada had no general news agency bearing any general resemblance to it, and the news services of the Dominion were in the control of two telegraph corporations—the Canadian Pacific

and the Great North Western Telegraph Companies. The Canadian Pacific, taking advantage of the policy of the Associated Press to sell its news to other countries, bought its news services as laid down in Buffalo, made its own selection and distributed the resulting product to such Canadian newspapers as were able to pay the comparatively modest charges demanded for it. The Great North Western Telegraph Company handled only a Canadian domestic news service, which was compiled by different district agencies and sold to newspapers at a very small price. The wealthier Canadian newspapers reinforced these services substantially through their own special correspondents in the domestic field and by special services secured from the great newspapers of New York and Chicago.

The news service thus supplied, if cheap, was poor and never quite above suspicion, and the only defense for it was that during the pioneer era of Canada's life, if the telegraph companies had not provided a news service at a rate within the financial resources of the smaller papers, these infant dailies could not have performed their proper functions.

The first open departure from the old system came in Winnipeg where the newspaper publishers formed the Western Associated Press. When it entered into competition with the Canadian Pacific Telegraph Company, it was naturally denied access to the news service of the Associated Press. For some years it had a very uphill fight, but the resolute loyalty of its members who, for the sake of the principle that newspapers should control their own news service, carried on with what was in many ways an inferior service at a cost much greater than that of the service supplied by the Canadian Pacific Telegraph Company, enabled it to survive.

In 1909 the Western Associated Press appealed to the Canadian Railway Commission against the exorbitant charges levied upon the member papers for the transmission of news as compared with the low rates which the Canadian Pacific Telegraph Company charged for its own news service sent over the same wires in the same territory. The daily publishers of Ontario and Quebec supported the Western Associated Press, and in 1910 the Railway Commission decided that all press matter must be charged the same telegraph rates. The Canadian Pacific Telegraph Company

then offered to surrender the valuable rights of the Associated Press service to the Canadian newspapers.

After conferences between the leading publishers the Canadian Press Limited was organized in 1911 with the dual functions of distributing the Associated Press service and guaranteeing an efficient reciprocal service of Canadian news. It took some time to build up organizations in Ontario and Quebec corresponding to the Western Associated Press in the West and the Eastern Associated Press in the Maritimes, and even when this had been done the arrangements were clumsy and wasteful. The chief obstacle to a closely knit national news organization lay in the long unproductive geographical gaps between Montreal and St. John, New Brunswick, between Ottawa and Winnipeg, and between Calgary and Vancouver, which could only be bridged by leased wires at a prohibitive cost. In 1917 the Borden government offered an annual grant of $50,000 for this purpose if an efficient national news service could be established. For this purpose the Canadian Press was formed. In 1924 the King government wished to discontinue the subsidy and the newspapers did not press for its retention.

There are two classes of services available to members of the Canadian Press: a full news service sent over wires leased and operated by the Association, and a summarized service running daily from a few hundred to two or three thousand words, which is prepared by the Canadian Press editors in some central bureau and sent out over the ordinary commercial wires on a word-toll basis.

What is supplied to each member is a basic news service, complete in every department, which includes world news, the domestic news of Canada, financial and sporting news, the political news embracing the proceedings of Parliament and of the provincial legislatures. The proceedings of Parliament are no longer reported in the same detail as thirty years ago, but they are still treated at considerable length, and since papers of every political stripe have to be served, they are reported with scrupulous impartiality.

The Canadian Press secures its international news partly from its own correspondents and partly through its alliance with the Associated Press of the United States. The latter assembles in its head office in New York a most elaborate and comprehensive

news service covering every country in the world. This is available to the Canadian Press, but, as it has been prepared by correspondents of American training primarily for the consumption of the American public, it is bound to be colored by American prejudices and predilections. The Canadian Press is allowed a very generous latitude in dealing with this news service and, with the consent of the Associated Press, it keeps in the latter's New York office a staff of editors, whose business it is to edit the news service made available there from the Canadian viewpoint and eliminate all traces of American coloration. In this task they achieve considerable success, but there have been occasions when foreign news presented through this New York channel to the Canadian public has carried the stigmata of pro-American bias and has evoked protests and resentment. The most notorious case of this kind was during the naval disarmament discussions at Geneva in 1928, when the British and American delegates found themselves sharply at variance in their views and the correspondents covering the conference for the Associated Press gave free scope to their patriotic bias in their despatches and transmitted what was regarded in Britain and Canada as a very prejudiced and unfair account of the attitude of the British delegation. As a result of the protests and complaints which were then made, greater vigilance is now being exercised.

This service is supplemented by special foreign services maintained by the Canadian Press on its own account. It has a close alliance with the old-established and famous press organization known as Reuter's News Agency, which is the chief institution of its kind in the British Commonwealth. This agency has representatives all over the world and supplies a news service to the daily papers of Great Britain, India, Australia, South Africa, New Zealand and most of the British Crown Colonies. It is now owned and controlled by the British newspapers belonging to the Press Association, the coöperative association of the British provincial press, for whose news it also acts as an exporting agent. Today the Canadian Press, by arrangement with Reuter's, maintains a staff in the latter's London office to select from the flood of news flowing in from every corner of the world whatever it thinks will interest the Canadian public, and after suitable editing to put this on the

cables. The London staff of the Canadian Press also watches the British end of strictly Canadian news concerning politics and trade, business in which the High Commissioner is involved, the activities of prominent Anglo-Canadians, and financial matters connected with Canada. The Canadian Press also maintains a representative in Paris and in Washington.

The daily newspapers of the smaller towns throughout the Dominion rely entirely on the Canadian Press for their outside news service. Mounting costs since the war have frequently forced the amalgamation of two local dailies, each representing one of the chief political parties, into a single non-partisan paper which can afford the complete news service. The result is that they are able to face the competition of the metropolitan newspapers.

From the foregoing account it will be seen that while Canadians receive a relatively good account of what is going on in the world from their own newspapers, it is not certain that this account will coincide completely with that received by their neighbors in the United States. It is obvious that any substantial differences in the news received as authentic in the two countries may result in serious misunderstandings.

III. *The Press and the Reciprocity Proposals of 1911.* (By J. A. Stevenson.)

The part which Canadian newspapers can play in the discussion of a controversial issue affecting Canadian-American relations can be examined in connection with the agreement for reciprocal tariff concessions negotiated by the Liberal government and communicated to Parliament on January 26, 1911. Naturally the Liberal press was enthusiastic in its commendation of the agreement. There were, however, a few exceptions. *La Presse* of Montreal pointed out (January 27, 1911) that the government had drawn back from the policy of protection which had prevailed for thirty years in Canada, and *La Patrie* of the same city frankly expressed its dislike of the proposals. The greatest surprise was the attitude of the Ottawa *Free Press*, the government organ in the capital, which wrote on January 28:

> Unless the Dominion Government is prepared immediately to increase the British preference, the step which Canada is asked to take is a grave

one indeed. . . . In the opinion of the *Free Press* the removal and reduction of the tariff against England should precede full reciprocity with the United States.

French-Canadian Nationalist organs in Quebec were also dubious about the agreement.

The Conservative party was taken completely by surprise at the scope and character of the agreement, and Sir Robert Borden, after expressing his amazement at "the very far-reaching and comprehensive character" of the proposals, was exceedingly cautious in his criticisms. A substantial element of Conservative members was disposed to welcome the agreement as eminently satisfactory for Canada. The Toronto *News*, then influential in ruling party opinion, declared (January 28, 1911):

Under all the circumstances, however, the *News* recognizes that Washington has offered terms which it is difficult for Canada to reject, although we frankly regret that our trade is to be turned into American rather than into Imperial channels, and that Canadian raw material must be sacrificed and some important Canadian enterprises prejudiced by an agreement which, whatever its advantages, may have results in the long future far more vital to the national life and our Imperial connection than we can now foresee.

The Ottawa *Journal* wrote (January 27, 1911):

The acceptance by the United States of such an agreement is, frankly speaking, a staggering surprise. If Congress accepts it, an excellent thing, we think, will have been accomplished for this country.

Other Conservative organs condemned the agreement but often in very mild terms. However, once the first shock of surprise was over, powerful interests, which felt that their economic fortunes would be made worse by the passage of the treaty, bestirred themselves to influence Conservative opinion; and there are grounds for believing that pressure was at the same time applied by British Conservatives who felt that their pet cause of Tariff Reform must be ruined by the consummation of the reciprocity agreement. So Conservative opinion in Canada rapidly hardened against the treaty. The Toronto *News* became a very aggressive and effective opponent of the reciprocity policy, and delivered a comprehensive indictment of it in a series of editorials

beginning January 31, 1911. It took a strongly anti-American and pro-British line and described reciprocity as an attempt at national suicide; it held that the agreement had no promise of permanence, that it implied a policy of commercial separation from the rest of the British Empire; that it had raised the issue of a divided Canada; and that it involved the sacrifice of the transportation interests of Canada for the benefit of Mr. J. J. Hill and his Great Northern system. The Montreal *Star* also turned to bitterness against the pact and in a full-page editorial on February 4, it made an appeal to Sir Wilfrid Laurier as "the one man who can save Canada." It informed the premier that reciprocity was an American trap into which the guileless Canadian emissaries had fallen, and that it would cause fissures in Confederation at a dozen vital points; that the diversion of food products from East and West lines to the South would shatter the steel framework of the Dominion, isolate the Maritime Provinces and frustrate their industrial development; that Quebec would become the backyard and lumber camp of New England, and that the Canadian West would look to Chicago and Saint Paul instead of Toronto and Montreal; that the protective tariff on manufactured goods would soon follow the rest of the system, and the Canadian railways would become mere feeders to the great system being built up by Mr. J. J. Hill; and that the ultimate end of it all would be annexation.

Meanwhile Liberal papers proceeded to take the field in support of the treaty.

On January 27, the Halifax *Chronicle* wrote:

> The Reciprocity pact covers a wide range, but its most important feature is that it provides for a largely extended free list. In short it is, to all intents and purposes, a measure of absolute free trade in many natural products. The products of the farm, the garden, the orchard, the quarry, the forest and the sea will have free access to the great consuming markets of the United States. What this means to the agricultural and fishing interests in particular cannot be over-estimated. The abolition of the duty on wheat alone will be an enormous boon to the farmers of the plains, whose opportunities thereby will be doubled, while the removal of the customs barrier on practically everything that the farmer produces, and seeks a market for, will operate to the great advantage of Canada all along the line.

The Montreal *Herald* summarized (February 11, 1911) more impartially the results which might be expected from the agreement:

Wheat will be worth more to the Canadian producer, but will not follow Canadian routes nor reach Canadian mills so largely.

Ontario and Quebec will increase the output of coarse grains for American consumption without reducing domestic supply or European export.

Ontario and Quebec will sell to the United States large quantities of late and specialized fruit, particularly apples, while Welland fruit will have a wider and more even market, with occasional loss from United States competition.

The Canadian butter market may be largely seized by Denmark and Australia, but Canadian butter will have a favorable position in the United States market to which these have no access.

The Ontario and Quebec meat packers fear the loss of a portion of their markets to the Chicago packers, with a consequent reduction in the Canadian demand for cattle and hogs.

The Ontario salt industry is doomed unless supplemental legislation can be contrived to overcome its present disadvantages.

Canadian poultry, if properly fed, will find an excellent market in the States, and new-laid eggs will, on the whole, find better prices. Lower grades will be reduced.

Canadian cattle may be transferred as yearlings to the States, where the process of feeding may be somewhat cheaper. This will depend on the state of feed crops.

The Western consumer, hitherto dependent on Eastern Canada, and a very small supply from British Columbia, for his fruit and vegetables, will be greatly benefited.

Certain special industries, such as British Columbia fruit-farming and Western Canada truck-farming, will be severely set back.

There will be a marked increase in the influx of Americans and others into the West and a rise in land values with a further increase in the wealth and consuming power of the West.

The milling industry, both in Manitoba and the East, will be at a disadvantage on the export market over [sic] the American mills which have a double market at home and in Europe.

The Maritime Provinces will gain immensely by the enlarged market for their fish and lumber, and the small producer will be able to handle his own produce for the New England market.

The Maritime Provinces will greatly increase their output of farm produce, shipping to New England cities. Maritime fruit and hay, now going largely to England, will be diverted to the United States market.

The stage was now set for a battle of economic interests, largely sectional in character, with the political parties as the ostensible combatants and the press as the medium of controversy. Thus we find the press endeavoring, by all means in its power, to influence opinion, but we must bear in mind that the press was not an independent factor in forming opinion but was itself set in action by more basic factors which will be examined in Chapters IX and X.

(i) *Maritime Provinces.* (By H. L. Stewart.)

The press campaign in the Maritime Provinces can conveniently be considered first. Though for these Provinces the economic attraction of reciprocity was hardly disputed, the material advantages were almost completely off-set by other considerations.[1]

The advocates of reciprocity dwelt upon the importance of cultivating friendly relations with Canada's great neighbor, and—with that in mind—upon the urgency of responding to the gesture from Washington. Here, exclaimed the Halifax *Chronicle* (February 9), was a chance to give lessons to mankind in international good will. At length there might be settled at a single stroke the old quarrelsome issue about the fisheries (January 14 and 16). The geography of the continent made it easier for the flow of business on this eastern side to be North and South rather than East and West; the attempt to create artificial trade-routes in a different direction could not ultimately succeed (February 10). Nor, indeed, was it honestly intended. Here was just a "clamor of the interests" (January 30). It was clear that resistance to reciprocity, however it might cloak itself under the affectation of concern for the Empire, or simulate alarm over the risk that Canada might be "annexed" by the United States, was at bottom a fight for Upper Canadian manufacturers to keep up the profits of their own business by excluding the United States competitor, and that to secure this result they were ready to sacrifice the fundamental interests of the fisherman, the lumberman, the farmers and the apple growers of the East. The *Chronicle* set forth with special

1. The results were:

Nova Scotia	9 Liberals	9 Conservatives
Prince Edward Island	2 Liberals	2 Conservatives
New Brunswick	8 Liberals	5 Conservatives

emphasis how a like resistance was to be seen among the American fishermen and farmers whose trade the Canadian competitor was expected to challenge.

It was a glowing picture which accompanied this appeal. Readers were told that 91 per cent of Canadian goods imported into the United States would benefit by the change (January 27). On the free list would be found fish of all kinds, lumber, apples and other fruits, while agricultural implements and flour would be subjected to a lower duty than before. Not, exclaimed the *Chronicle* (February 3), through a fatuous trust in "Imperial Preference," but by direct dealing with Nova Scotia's obvious customer at her own doors, would prosperity be obtained. Within five years, said an eloquent Liberal speaker (Mr. Howard Smith), reciprocity would have yielded its result in a banking fleet of five hundred sail from Nova Scotia, with an annual catch of 1,000,000 quintals for the American market, manned, too, by returned Nova Scotians who had come back from Gloucester to serve in their own Province.

But against such considerations of mingled patriotism and profit, an appeal was made with great success by the Opposition speakers and newspapers to that British "loyalty" in Canada which the American Government was represented as planning to subvert. It was more important, said Sir Robert Borden, Leader of the Opposition, and himself a Nova Scotian, to establish trade relations with three hundred million people under the British flag than with ninety-two million foreigners under the Stars and Stripes (*Chronicle*, January 28). In the Halifax *Herald*, it was ceaselessly urged during the summer of 1911 that the Washington project was meant to force Canada into political union with the United States. This, the *Herald's* readers were told (June 21), was the real "driving force" of the proposal, and any sacrifice the Americans might temporarily incur in customs revenue would be made good to them many times over if it succeeded. Were not the Hearst papers (June 20), which advocated reciprocity, also outspoken advocates of political union? The United States press in general regarded this as a mere prelude to a larger project (August 3); and it was notorious that "our neighbors are all talking annexation on the quiet" (June 28). With such a project of their common Americanism to inspire them, the Democrats were even helping the

Republican party's election scheme—surely in itself a sufficiently suspicious spectacle (July 14)! On August 7, the *Herald* was able to quote from the New York *American:*

> The Reciprocity agreement will check the East and West development of Canada, and make that country a business part of the United States. . . . Reciprocity will really cut Canada into two countries; the section east of Lake Superior will merge with the New England States, and the West will become part of the West of the United States.

Pursuing such reflections further, the *Herald* dwelt upon the observation by Mr. Champ Clark, Speaker of the United States House of Representatives, that he looked forward to a time when the whole continent, "from Panama to the Pole," would be territory of the United States. This, it said, was but the frank avowal of what his more crafty countrymen concealed (July 28. Cf. July 8, and July 19). It was really in alarm at the project of British trade federation that President Taft had conceived his proposal by which, if it should succeed, not only would British commercial leadership be destroyed (August 5), but the very food supply of Great Britain in time of war would be endangered (July 12). Was it tolerable to see thus jeopardized all the successes of nearly half a century of Canadian nation-building (February 1)—the country denationalized (February 7)—Canada's great western heritage turned (as Clifford Sifton had well put it) into the back-yard of Chicago (March 1)?

The climax of this appeal, so often reiterated, to "sons of the blood" (May 11), was reached in the citation of words of warning from those great Imperial statesmen, Lord Lansdowne and Mr. A. J. Balfour (February 7), in the alleged discovery of a confidential circular issued by the United States Government to American manufacturers, setting forth how their chance had now come to bring under American control the vitally important market of Western Canada, which is "growing at an enormous rate" (September 20, the day before polling in Canada); and in the message obtained from Mr. Rudyard Kipling, bidding the Canadian people reflect ere pawning the country's soul. Perhaps, said Mr. Kipling, the Dominion, crushed into inevitable coincidence with United States legal and ethical standards, might even accept *reciprocity*

in the American murder rate of over 150 per million each year (September 11)!

(ii) *In Quebec, Ontario and the West.*

In Ontario and Quebec the manufacturers were alarmed, not because their protection was reduced by the treaty, but because they feared what its ultimate consequences might be. On March 18, the *Monetary Times* wrote:

For the first time last year we believe the exports of the neighboring Republic's manufactures exceeded its agricultural exports. President Taft's somewhat unexpected warmth of greeting to the Canadian Ministers at Washington is thus explained. The proposed tariff agreement is, from the United States viewpoint, merely a sprat thrown to catch a whale. In other words, the apparently considerable concessions made to Canada are the thin edge of a wedge which will later be hammered hard for the sake of American manufactured exports.

The argument of the Toronto *News* (March 25, 1911) was:

Is it not hurting the Canadian manufacturer to give his heavily capitalized and powerfully organized American competitors the free run of the country's raw material? Has not the Ministry gone out of its way to offer the United States extraordinary inducements to attack our natural resources? But for the tariff concessions made by the Ottawa Government, the control of Canada by American interests and combines would not be a present menace as it is today. That is not all. Government newspapers in the West promise radical reductions in the tariff on manufactures. If ratified the present agreement will speedily be followed by tariff reductions all along the line.

The Liberals sought to reassure industrial opinion. Thus the Toronto *Globe*, on March 28, contended:

The manufacturers have been safeguarded against the duty-free competition they dreaded and the farmers have secured the duty-free entry of foodstuffs into the United States market that they desired. Mr. Fielding does not understand why the agitation should proceed. That it has its origin in the fear so crudely expressed the other day on the other side of the border by the American Protective League is undoubted. In both countries high protectionists fear that when the farmer no longer has "protection" on natural products he will not be very favorable to protection on manufactured products.

The *Farmers' Sun*, however, an independent agrarian organ, helped to confirm the manufacturers' fears:

> Like the silversmiths at Ephesus they [the Interests] fear that their whole craft is in danger. They see that the promised success of the agitation by farmers for the opening of the American market to farm products may be a prelude to an assault on the whole citadel of Special Privilege. They see that with the first concession secured, railway subsidies must go, bounties must be ended for good and all; the general tariff under which water-logged combines have been built up will be scaled down. They see, in short, the end of a system under which wealth created on the farm has been diverted into a few great city reservoirs. (March 15, 1911.)

After the opening parliamentary debate ended, the issue of reciprocity remained in suspense during the attendance of Sir Wilfrid Laurier at an Imperial Conference in London. On July 22, after the final passage of the agreement through Congress was assured, the Toronto *Globe* published a front-page editorial:

> We stand too close to the historic event of Saturday at Washington to appreciate its importance in world politics. To the historian hereafter it may present itself as the first definite action towards the Great Reconciliation as the Stamp Act stands out as the first direct cause of the Great Quarrel between the two branches of the Anglo-Saxon people. What emerges most clearly at the moment is the economic aspect. President Taft has done for the Republican party of the United States what Sir Robert Peel did for the Tory party of Great Britain three-quarters of a century ago. Under Mr. Taft's masterful leadership the party that almost deified high protection has declared that the protective principle shall not be applied to foodstuffs. . . . Under the protective system in its application to foodstuffs, the duties on wheat, barley, oats, beans, cattle, fish and meats have been prohibitive since the passage of the McKinley Tariff twenty years ago. The inevitable result has been the frequent cornering of the wheat market, and the increase of the price of wheat and flour far above that prevailing in the world's open market.

The Conservative press made the most of the rash declarations of President Taft and Mr. Champ Clark, the Speaker of the House of Representatives, to the effect that the Reciprocity Treaty would make Canada an economic annex of the United States and was a prelude to annexation. When the dissolution of Parliament

was announced, a typical comment was that of the Montreal *Herald* of July 31:

No doubt, each party will dwell on other subjects during the campaign, but the decision of the electorate will rest on Reciprocity. The result will be accepted by the whole country as endorsation or condemnation of this particular policy. The Opposition in the House have forced the Administration to go to the country on this issue. They have appealed unto Caesar. Unto Caesar they shall go. If Reciprocity means what some members of the Opposition claim it means, the Government certainly had no mandate for pressing it through Parliament. No Government without authority, unqualified and comprehensive, would be entitled to commit the Dominion to a policy which reversed our traditional attitude towards the rest of the Empire, and set our face as a nation towards union with the United States. It is being proclaimed on the housetops that Reciprocity means these things and the good folks who accept these housetop warnings as trustworthy indications of coming danger are certainly entitled to their belief that the country should be consulted. We hold these interpretations of the meaning of Reciprocity absurd, but what is shown on its face is of sufficient importance to warrant all the examination of the proposed agreement which will be given it in the course of a general election.

The issue of reciprocity was, however, not the only one presented to the people, and in Quebec the naval policy of the Government, which had sponsored a plan for a Canadian navy to consist of four cruisers and a group of subsidiary vessels, was violently attacked by the Nationalist group organized by Mr. Bourassa, which acted in close coöperation with a section of the Conservative party. An article published in *Le Devoir* of August 2 was tantamount to Mr. Bourassa's election manifesto:

Of all the questions that the Premier and the Opposition Leader seem desirous of snatching from the judgment of the people, the most important, without doubt, is that collection of problems grouped together under the name of Imperialist. In these circumstances the right line of conduct to follow is plainly marked—bring out independent candidates, Nationalists, Liberals or Conservatives, supporters of reciprocity or those who are opposed to it, men of honor and men of their word who will rally round Mr. Monk to maintain in Parliament and in the face of whatever government, the principles of autonomy laid down by the member for Jacques Cartier during the past year, men whose ideals are healthy and whose determination is firm, for they will have to settle the vital problems of the

nation, which are Canadian autonomy, the preservation of national unity and the rights of minorities.

Thus the Liberal press was in a position to taunt the Conservative leaders with forswearing their Imperialist principles in order to capture seats with the help of the anti-Imperialist Bourassa. But the alliance became closer than ever, and on September 16 *Le Devoir* declared that three-quarters of the Opposition candidates in Quebec had accepted the Nationalist creed, while even some Conservative candidates in Ontario had pledged themselves to support the repeal of the obnoxious Naval Act.

Throughout the campaign the Conservatives secured invaluable backing from the great majority of the industrial interests of Canada, although after its early protest had been submitted to the Government the Canadian Manufacturers' Association (*see* Chapter X) took no further organized action against the treaty. Some Liberal papers, therefore, bent all their efforts to conciliating these interests. On September 14, the Montreal *Herald* made this appeal:

> The Liberal tariff, fortified by Mr. Fielding's fixity of purpose in ensuring its stability, has given the Canadian manufacturer the longest and best breathing spell he has ever enjoyed. He has grown and prospered and multiplied. If there is one class more than another which should rest content with existing political conditions and depend with confidence on the attitude towards it of the Liberal Government, it is the manufacturing class.

But others took a more aggressive tone. The Toronto *Globe* declared on September 21:

> The big interests are all ranged against the removal of duties on foodstuffs. That should be sufficient reason for the people to place themselves on the other side.

The Regina *Leader* wrote on September 6:

> The issue in the general election of 1911 and which will be decided by the people with their ballots on September 21 next, is whether or not Canada shall continue to move forward in the direction of lower tariffs, obtain larger markets for Canadian produce, and reduce the burden of customs taxation now borne by the people. . . . The big interests are opposing Reciprocity because it means the thin edge of the wedge to further lower

the tariff wall. For the same reason the Western farmer and business man should support Reciprocity.

The *Grain Growers' Guide* of September 13 was equally explicit: "Reciprocity is the thin edge of the wedge. The protective tariff that has robbed the people must come down."

The polling day came on September 21, 1911, and the general expectation that the result would be exceedingly close was falsified, for the Conservatives, counting their Nationalist allies, secured 133 seats against 88 won by the Liberals. It remained for the press to explain the victory. The Montreal *Gazette* (September 22, 1911) wrote:

> It proves that there is a real national sentiment in the hearts of the Canadian people, but that their place in the British Empire is the place they desire to build, and that anything that seems calculated to weaken the idea of nationhood or to threaten, even in a remote way, the traditional connection with Great Britain will be promptly rejected.

Le Devoir professed itself to be still independent and declared (September 22, 1911):

> The election is for us but an incident and a means. Above all we desire to spread our ideas because we believe them to be just and beneficial to the country. The Nationalist idea must penetrate every community and every province.

The majority of the Liberal papers laid the chief blame for their defeat upon fears of annexation, anti-American sentiment and the use of the loyalty cry. The Toronto *Globe* put the matter in a nutshell, "The people of Ontario do not like their neighbors to the south." The Toronto *Star* (September 22, 1911) held that political apprehensions rather than economic considerations had defeated the agreement. The St. John *Telegraph* found the prime cause of defeat in the loyalty cry. But the Winnipeg *Free Press* (September 22, 1911) thought the result in Ontario due to business conditions and not to sentiment. The Victoria *Times* labeled the loyalty cry as a scare raised by the "big interests" for their own selfish ends. *La Presse* of Montreal attributed the result to the Anti-Catholic prejudices of Ontario. *Le Soleil* of Quebec thought "an odious campaign of falsehoods" had triumphed and *La Vigie*, of Quebec, deplored the triumph of Imperialism.

On a longer view the result was accepted with equanimity. The Winnipeg *Free Press* (September 22, 1911) declared:

> A straight clear issue was put to the Canadian people in the election. They were asked to say whether they desired reciprocity in natural products with the United States. The verdict is decisive and is accepted without question.

Liberal politicians continued for a time to curse the folly of President Taft and Mr. Champ Clark in ruining their cause by their injudicious utterances about annexation. But within a few years the reductions made in the American duties by the Underwood tariff seemed to give Canada many of the advantages which would have been obtained by the Reciprocity Treaty.

IV. *Canadian Newspaper Comment During the Great War and Its Aftermath.* (By J. A. Stevenson.)

The attitude of Canadian newspapers towards the United States during the Great War need not detain us long. Its standpoint was dominantly British, and can be illustrated by a few lines from the Winnipeg *Free Press*, published on May 8, 1915, after the sinking of the *Lusitania:*

> It is not for the people of other lands to form policies for the United States, but it is possible to imagine the people of that great country awaking with a start to the full realization of the fact that their government has been posing and looking on, while other nations have been fighting a fire that threatens to consume the world and making most superb sacrifices in defence of modern civilization.

On November 3, 1916, after President Wilson had said at Cincinnati that he believed in physical force upon certain occasions, the same paper wrote:

> The conditions which the President says will justify the United States in making war in future have existed since August, 1914. Germany and Austria went to war upon a pretext which they were not willing to submit to the opinion of mankind. The case is so clear that President Wilson, in order to justify the neutrality of the United States, has had to disown any concern over the origin of the war.

It is obvious that the position of a leader, who was bound to

speak as if he were at the head of a rational and impartial people and at the same time to take account of the fact that different sections of the community were strongly swayed by passionate sympathies, or strongly prejudiced by the isolationist traditions of an earlier age, was extremely vulnerable to journalistic attack. In Canada, where Imperial sentiment had simplified to some extent an analogous situation, there was relatively little sympathy for Mr. Wilson's divided loyalties. On April 3, 1917, the *Free Press* welcomed the entry of the United States into the war.

> What is past is past. It is well that it should now be forgotten. Let there instead be joy beyond telling that America has taken her rightful place with the other democracies of the world in the great confederacy which is pledged to tame the wild beast of Prussianism and bring peace with victory to the world.

In the sixth of a series of articles on American intervention, published in *Le Devoir*, Mr. Bourassa argued that Canadian independence had become necessary to prevent the absorption of Canada by the United States, thus cleverly appealing to anti-American sentiment in support of an anti-Imperialist project:[2]

> Un journal de Pittsburg a lancé la nouvelle stupéfiante qu'en garantie d'un emprunt global de dix milliards, le gouvernement britannique aurait *hypothéqué* le Canada en faveur des Etats-Unis. Qu'on ne s'étonne pas outre mesure. Ce ne serait pas la première fois que les hommes d'Etat britanniques auraient offert à nos voisins *to strike a good bargain* en faisant main-basse sur le Canada, sur ses immenses richesses naturelles et son bénévole troupeau de moutons coloniaux, de laine si drue et si facile à tondre.[3]
>
> . . . L'intervention américaine, en hâtant le jour de la déchéance de l'antique monarchie anglaise—la plus ancienne de l'Europe, aujourd'hui—hâte également la rupture du lien qui rattache le Canada à la Grande-Bretagne et le reversement du principal obstacle à l'absorption du Canada par les Etats-Unis.

2. All six articles were published as "*L'intervention américaine, ses motifs, son objet, ses conséquences,*" Montreal, 1917.

3. Le très *loyal* Jos. Pope, aujourd'hui *sir* Joseph Pope, sous-secrétaire d'Etat canadien, a lui-même raconté comment *sir* John Macdonald se résigna, en 1871, à signer le Traité de Washington, si contraire aux interêts canadiens, parce que les plenipotentiaires britanniques menaçaient de livrer le Canada tout entier aux Américains.

Un seul dérivatif—l'indépendance complète du Canada—pourrait retarder ou détourner cette échance fatale. *Un Canada independant serait plus à l'abri des cupidités américaines que le Canada, dépendance britannique.* Cette vérité, on ne saurait trop le répéter, car elle s'attaque à l'un des préjugés les plus faux et les plus répandus. Incontestable avant la guerre, elle l'est plus que jamais depuis l'entrée des Etats-Unis dans le conflit. . . . Les Canadiens de toutes races auront-ils la sagesse de se préparer aux éventualités prochaines? En auront-ils le temps? C'est de plus en plus douteux.

Of greater interest than the minor recriminations of the war years, which ended in a comradeship in arms, are the misunderstandings which followed the termination of hostilities. When, early in 1919, Secretary Daniels told the Congress of the United States that the alternatives before the country were either adhesion to the projected League of Nations or the creation of "incomparably the greatest navy in the world," the comment of the Winnipeg *Free Press* was:

> The United States has stepped, for good or ill, but irretraceably, out of the new world into the wide arena of the Earth. Grown to manhood, it has crossed the Rubicon; retreat from world politics is impossible. And at this crisis in its career it presents to the older nations, grown gray many of them in their progress from barbarity to civilization and with many relics of the past still clinging to their habiliments, but still in full vigor of manhood, this fateful alternative—rule by law or rule by might—the League of Nations or "incomparably the greatest navy in the world."

On October 23, after its editor, Mr. J. W. Dafoe, had returned from acting as press representative of the Canadian delegation at the Peace Conference, the Winnipeg *Free Press* published a long editorial on "Anglophobia in the United States." It detected three contributing factors in this attitude: first, the efforts of Senators Lodge, Johnson and their associates to revive "the old baseless antagonism to Britain which was a legacy of the War of Independence" in order to belittle the labors of the Peace Conference and humiliate President Wilson; secondly, the ancient prejudices of the Irish-American element against Britain, which had been fanned to fever heat by the Sinn Fein movement; and thirdly, the propaganda of pro-Germans who wanted to help the defeated Central Powers to secure better terms. But the bulk of American

opinion was still considered favorable to the idea of close Anglo-American coöperation:

Jealousy and suspicion by either one or the other must vitiate the whole international atmosphere. Frankness and cordiality, on the other hand, will go far to sweeten and elevate international relations everywhere. Those who foster or create Anglophobia in the United States or who misinterpret American sentiment to the British people may do harm infinitely greater than they realize now.

In the following year the proposed reservations to the League of Nations Covenant, which were being debated in the American Senate, were discussed by the Winnipeg *Free Press* (February 7, 1920):

The British representative on the Council will speak for the Government behind which Parliament stands; the American representative will speak for the President, who may or may not command the support of Congress. These difficulties are implicit in the United States scheme of government, and perhaps having regard to them it is not really possible for the United States to possess anything more than quasi-membership of the League which will be their status if they enter subject to the qualifications set forth in the Senate's reservations.

On February 16, the same paper dealt with the resolution of Senator Lenroot, which sought to debar the British Commonwealth from having more than one vote in the councils of the League:

If the Lenroot resolution is part of her (the United States) decision, it has a peculiar interest for Canada, but the League of Nations would have little interest for Canada if the reservation was accepted. We have our national status, we have proved our manhood, we intend to be a nation and sovereign power subscribing to the League of Nations, as we do at present, but outside the League of Nations if such modification as the Lenroot reservation proposes ever becomes by evil chance part of its constitution.

When Ex-President Taft, speaking at Toronto, suggested that the British Dominions should waive their rights to separate membership in the League and thereby remove one of the chief obstacles to the entry of the United States, the *Free Press* replied (March 13, 1920):

The particular concession that Ex-President Taft hints at will never be made, if the United States never becomes a member of the League.

The contention is nothing less than that Canada, Australia, New Zealand and South Africa must go out before the United States will come in. This is a case of "What we have, we hold." We are merely preserving our own self-respect by maintaining our right to nationhood, hardly won in the war and freely recognized by the nations of the world at Paris last year. In that defense the Parliament of Canada, representing all elements in the community, will, we trust, show no break in the ranks; perhaps Mr. King will be able to induce even Mr. Fielding to forgo the satisfaction he experiences in contemplating a status of inferiority and join in the vindication of Canada's right to nationhood.

On March 22, 1920, the *Free Press* headed its editorial, "A World Tragedy":

There is no need for the world to have any illusions about the part which the United States, at least for the immediate future, is to play in world affairs. . . . The United States is not going to be a member of the League of Nations. Nor is anything to be gained by attributing this decision solely to a group of inveterate partisans constituting the majority of the United States' Senate. Whether or not this was the case at the outset, there are indications that a majority of the American people are agreeable to these actions.

It looks very much as if the United States has seriously damaged the Peace Treaty which was made as it was largely out of deference to the supposed wishes of the American people, and has placed the entire project of the League of Nations, which it might be said was imposed by it on the peoples of Europe, in jeopardy.

On November 15, 1919, the Toronto *Globe*, in commenting on the reservation to Article X of the League of Nations Covenant, wrote, "The Senators must not be surprised if their country is regarded with some disgust."

On March 20, 1920, the same paper commented on the so-called "Irish reservation" appended to the Peace Treaty:

The Senate's declaration of sympathy with "the aspirations of the Irish people for a government of their own choice" is of course an aspersion on the British Government and Parliament, but Congress never posed as a pattern of international good manners. American politicians are intent on the presidential game and neither party will be concerned about the feelings of other nations if it can score some points against its opponents. Allowance should be made by the British people for the exigencies of a

Presidential year. They may be assured that millions of American citizens, friendly to the British Empire, are not proud of the antics of their professional vote-catchers.

Two days later, the same paper wrote:

The United States Senate has spared the President the trouble of vetoing the emasculated Peace Treaty, but it has spared him nothing else. He could not have concurred in reservations which he has said would violate his pledges to the world and destroy his work in the creation of the League of Nations. Even if he had surrendered to the Senate, no British country could have sanctioned the provisions impairing the status of the British Dominions in the League of Nations, though it is possible that they would have treated with silent contempt the Irish reservations. . . . The Governments of Great Britain, France and Italy have traditions of international courtesy to which the Washington Senate is a stranger, and they will show President Wilson the respect due to his great office, but there is a tragic contrast between the prestige and power he enjoyed in Europe, when he went there two years ago, and his complete impotence today. His enemies at home have had their revenge but at the expense of their country's influence and good name.

On March 26, 1930, the *Mail and Empire* of Toronto, which had previously (March 20, 1920) styled the "Irish reservation" an "impertinent resolution," discussed the rejection of the Peace Treaty:

The Allies are in the position of having made peace on the basis of the famous Fourteen points of President Wilson, a peace in which American influence was strongly exerted for moderation, and finding the United States repudiating its spokesman. American influence has helped to mold the Allies' terms with Germany, but the Allies will have nothing to say whatever about the sort of peace the United States makes. So far as it is possible to judge, the beneficiary of American influence at the Peace Conference has been Germany and Germany alone.

As early as August 25, 1919, the Montreal *Gazette* had written:

The majority of the Foreign Relations Committee of the Senate is playing somewhat small politics with the Peace Treaty which is now before that body. There is in the League of Nations Covenant embodied in the document that to which thoughtful men having regard to the traditions and interests of their country might object on reasonable grounds.

And on March 20, 1920, it wrote:

While partisan politics may have played some part in the opposition to the ratification of the Treaty, there were broad reasons why there should be long debate and even hesitation in making such a departure from tradition as the League of Nations implied and in giving the International Labor Office the right to question the purpose and sufficiency of the domestic laws of the United States.

The views expressed by the Halifax *Chronicle* (March 22, 1920), after the Senate had adopted the Lodge reservation to Article X of the Covenant, were very moderate:

The United States, if the Senate and President were to ratify the treaty with this reservation, would contract itself out of any obligation moral or material, in respect to any policy or action recommended by the Council or Assembly of the League. Whether the country would assume any responsibility would depend on the will of Congress. But the membership of the United States in the League is so desirable that other nations would not be justified in preventing it, by refusing to sanction the Senate's conditions. The reservation is the outcome of a clash between the President and the Senate, and it is not for the people of other countries to question the wisdom of the attempt by a branch of the United States' legislature to withhold from the Executive the unlimited power to involve the nation in war. The Canadian government, which has pledged itself that Parliament would decide whether or not Canadian military forces should be employed anywhere at the behest of the League, could not logically protest against a similar safeguard at Washington.

The *Chronicle* made it clear that Canada would be showing no unfriendliness to the United States in declining to accept the Lenroot reservation.

V. *Conclusions.*

In this chapter we have seen how the Canadian newspapers, with the assistance of the Canadian government, have sought to keep their sources of news clear from any taint of American bias, and how, as ultimately was the case with the effort to free Canadian radio from American domination, cordial American coöperation was obtained.

We have also viewed, through the eyes of the Canadian newspapers, the two great questions which in recent years have most

profoundly affected the relations between Canada and the United States. To treat these controversies as illustrations of the tone and temper of Canadian newspapers has thus enabled us to kill two birds with one stone without poaching on the preserves of the historians.

In the first of these two controversies we saw the rejection by Canadian opinion of a treaty for reciprocity that had been negotiated with the United States. We shall be in a better position to understand this rejection when we have dealt—as we shall do in the next two chapters—with the way in which national economic interests have been integrated in Canada and with the subtle interrelation of these interests and the sentimental background of Canadian national feeling. For the newspapers, while they are a conspicuous influence in the formation of opinion, are not a primary cause of it, but are themselves the product of general social developments.

In the second controversy, the war and its aftermath brought into sharp conflict the world outlook of Canada and the world outlook of the United States. So different were these two outlooks that the ultimate policy of each country was barely comprehensible to the other. Canadians, who felt that they were assuming large responsibilities, were inclined to be indignant with what they looked on as the callous withdrawal of the United States from a task to which it had set its hand and from a movement in which it had given decisive leadership. If the expression of this indignation was quickly stifled, it was partly because Canadians are not admirers of recrimination (the Alaska boundary controversy was exceptional and even it, as we have seen, has been toned down considerably in the school books, pp. 80–85), partly because it has become second nature for them to remember that whether they like it or not, they must continue to live under the same heaven and, indeed, on the same continent with the United States.

It would probably be fair to sum up the controversies of the war period by saying that Canadian opinion was more firmly than ever convinced of the superiority of British to American political institutions and, it should be added, of British to American political behavior. Just as in the case of the American Civil War (pp. 62–72), the collective action of Americans seemed strangely

irresponsible. There was thus no approach to a definitely North American outlook, as there would almost certainly have been had the United States entered the League of Nations, and pursued within it a world policy conceived in North American interests.

The influence of the press is probably, in the long run, greater in the tone of its day to day commentary on life and events than in its action in time of crisis. This aspect of the Canadian newspapers will not be neglected, but it has seemed more convenient to postpone discussion of it until we are engaged in a direct analysis of Canadian opinion, as distinct from our present study of the influences which have contributed to its formation. (*See* Chapters XI, XII and XIII.)

CHAPTER IX

ECONOMIC ORGANIZATIONS

I. *Introduction.*

The time has come for tracing the rise of what is sometimes called economic nationalism in Canada. Without encroaching on the field of the historian, we must give an account of the various interests which have competed with one another for the control of Canadian economic policy, and we must show how the policy of tariff protection became dominant. Various economic interests formed organizations to press their demands on the attention of the public and to guide the opinion of the country. Some of these demanded a protective tariff, and the scope of their activities of necessity brought them into a position of antagonism to the United States and into alliance with associations formed to promote Canadian national patriotism or imperial unity. The effect of this alliance on Canadian public opinion has been of great importance. We have therefore to consider as influences in the formation of opinion in Canada with reference to the United States a number of organizations designed either to promote the economic advantage of their members or to encourage and direct the various phases of national and imperial patriotism. The influence of these organizations is different in kind from that of the press or the radio. Their purpose is to influence opinion. Their aims are conscious and often avowed. Yet even they themselves are not primary factors, for they arise from economic interests and from national sentiment. These in turn are the outcome of historical and geographical considerations which are outside the scope of the present study but whose economic consequences must be briefly indicated.

II. *Growth of the National Economic Policy of Canada.* (By S. Delbert Clark.)

(i) *Competition of British, American and Canadian Interests.*

While on the political side we see three currents of opinion, which at times diverge sharply from one another: imperial, national and North American; so on the economic side there has been a

struggle between British, Canadian and American interests for the Canadian market. But this market consisted of Canadian primary producers, whose favor could be won by one or other of the three suitors through appeals to interested or to sentimental considerations. They have pressed their suits with varying fortunes and continue to do so.

In the course of this competition strong vested interests have grown up in Canada dependent on one or another of these three competitors. Thus the colonial ports which participated in the twin activities of trade and transportation were essentially units in the imperial structure: links in the chain of communications between the center of the Empire and the frontier. The nature of their activities changed with the changing nature of the trade and the changing means of transportation, but they remained functionally part of the imperial commercial system. And great organizations were built up, such as railway and steamship companies, which were dependent on the continuance of Canadian trade with distant countries, and especially with Great Britain.

In the second place there were internal trading groups which were an integral part of the commercial organization of the Eastern United States. The erection of a tariff wall between Canada and the United States deprived Canadian ports of all hope of participating in the American export and import trade; while even in Canada their position was menaced by the economic development of the United States. Under this pressure the organizations whose interests lay in imperial trade were willing to combine with the rising local interests to establish an area free from American control. This enterprise required a twofold effort: the establishment of efficient lines of transportation; and a tariff policy which would force trade to flow east and west. "We cannot afford," said the President of the Montreal Board of Trade in 1902, "to have Duluth, Buffalo, Portland, Boston and other United States ports handling the freight which Port Arthur, Montreal, Quebec, St. John and Halifax are entitled to, and it is our first duty, as it is the duty of our government at Ottawa, to so arrange and assist matters that it will be to the advantage of the great carrying companies to provide adequate transportation facilities to cope with the growing

requirements of our country."[1] In 1929, we find the President of the Montreal Harbor Commissioners urging the improvement of the St. Lawrence waterway with the same object in view. "Only in this way can real progress be made in what should be our national effort to carry our export products to market through and over Canadian channels, routes and rails."[2] Thus Montreal, in spite of the transformation which the industrial revolution has wrought in Canada, continues to view herself as a rival to the United States seaboard cities. It is true that side by side with international rivalry there is inter-regional rivalry with other Canadian ports such as Vancouver, but no patriotic feeling can be enlisted in these latter struggles which can never rise above the level of Canadian politics.

(ii) *Compromise by British and Canadian Interests.*

The same consideration applies to the conflict of interest between ports concerned primarily with trade and the rising centers of industry within Canada. Some sort of working compromise has to be found. In 1911, the President of the Montreal Board of Trade denounced the proposed Reciprocity Treaty as "ruinous to the port of Montreal . . . suicidal to the trade interests and imperial aspirations of Canada."[3] In this way the port question was made an imperial and national issue. The protection of Canada's ports became allied with the protection of Canada's industries against a common enemy in the United States. "Canada," said the Honorable Mr. McCurdy ten years later at St. John, "will not be a nation until she is self-contained. It is of great importance, therefore, to see that Canada's exports and imports find their way through Canadian ports." (The *Gazette*, Montreal, October 14, 1921, p. 10.)

But it was not enough to put obstacles in the way of trade with the United States; trade with Britain had to be encouraged. The

1. *Sixtieth Annual Report of the Council of the Montreal Board of Trade, being for the year 1902*, pp. 60–61.

2. Review of the Port of Montreal for 1929, *The Gazette Commercial and Financial Review for the Year 1929*, p. 86.

3. *Canadian Annual Review of Public Affairs*, 1911, p. 38. For the discussion of Reciprocity in the Canadian press *see* Chapter IX.

Imperial Federation League in Canada was organized to oppose commercial union with the United States. To combat such a movement, "it was decided to advocate a commercial union of the British Empire as an alternative."[4] Imperial preferences were established by the Laurier government, but they were not reciprocated. It was not until 1932 that a system of mutual preferences was established by agreement, which can be considered as a compromise designed to divide the Canadian market for the benefit of Canadian and British producers.

I am not in favor [said Mr. Cahan of Montreal] of opening our market wide to any other country. The prosperity of the city of Montreal is more to me than the prosperity of the city of Manchester or any other city in England. The well-being of the working people of this city is more to me than the well-being of the city of Glasgow, or Paris or Berlin. But I do say that, when we have provided our own people with employment here, then for my part I am prepared to give a preference to the British Empire over the producers to the south of us. (The *Gazette*, Montreal, May 23, 1930, p. 14.)

These sentiments were officially endorsed by the Canadian Manufacturers' Association:

We believe that, in all negotiations concerning British Empire trade, the interests of Canadian producers, whether industrial or agricultural, should be properly safeguarded, and that, when this is assured, every practical plan to increase trade among British countries should be supported, especially in view of the fact that many foreign countries have been restricting their purchases of Canadian products by means of increased tariffs and import regulations.[5]

The economic motives which inspired this compromise between protection and imperial trade are obvious. In popularizing the policy in the country an appeal was naturally made to national and imperial sentiment and discreetly to anti-American feeling.

What is needed is economic coöperation within the Empire [said Professor Stephen Leacock to the Montreal Rotary Club]. We don't need the United States. With that great republic we are, and we must always remain, on the most friendly terms. But the time has come to give them one of the friend-

4. G. T. Denison, *The Struggle for Imperial Unity* (London, 1909), p. 85.
5. *Industrial Canada*, July, 1930, p. 104.

liest jolts they ever got. The time has come to show them in the friendliest way that this new American dominance won't do. (Montreal *Daily Star*, November 5, 1929, p. 4.)

(iii) *Rise of Canadian Manufacturing and Protection.*

It is time to look at the other party to the compromise. The rise of manufacturing in Canada had followed Confederation and the railway construction of the 'sixties and 'seventies. The trader who turned manufacturer was no longer anxious to maintain the communications between the Canadian hinterland and outside metropolitan centers, for his position depended on control of the local market. But he was intensely interested in internal transportation.

The salvation of our great national industries [said the President of the Canadian Manufacturers' Association in 1909] depends upon the development of strong home markets under our own control, and, despite tariff barriers, our home markets never can be under our control unless we bring our means of internal communication to the highest degree of efficiency.[6]

The fear of American competition was incessant.

Our public men [wrote a Toronto manufacturer in 1911] know full well what a unique and singularly delicate problem is that of our trade relations; a narrow strip of country a couple of hundred miles wide, by three thousand six hundred miles long, loosely filled with seven and a half millions, adjoining a country with a hundred million, speaking the same language and rampantly ambitious in everything connected with commerce and industry. . . . As for us, the circulation of goods from East to West may be called the life blood of our Dominion, and transportation our heart action.[7]

Ten years later a bulletin issued by the Canadian Reconstruction Association declares:

Similarity of race, language, customs, etc., and intimate social intercourse, have withheld that important but "invisible" protection which many countries in Europe and elsewhere have had in their efforts to maintain their industrial independence and establish themselves as economic units.[8]

6. *Industrial Canada*, October, 1909, p. 248.

7. *Ibid.*, April, 1911, p. 944.

8. *Canada and Reciprocity with the United States*, Bulletin issued by the *Canadian Reconstruction Association*, October, 1921, p. 16.

If the manufacturers realized their need for internal transportation, the transportation companies realized their interest in the policy of protection.

"We must establish," said Sir Thomas Shaughnessy, President of the Canadian Pacific Railway, addressing a Board of Trade banquet at Toronto, "such relations between the merchants and manufacturers of Eastern and the merchants and consumers of Western Canada as will make the trend of traffic and social intercourse in Canada east and west."[9] To accomplish this the policy of fiscal protection was necessary. From the first it was directed primarily against the United States. "I do not think," said William Thompson of Toronto, as early as 1874, "we have much to fear from the competition of the mother country; nor would I desire to see, in the arrangement of the tariff, aught done to weaken the tie that binds us to Great Britain."[10] And in 1906 the Canadian Manufacturers' Association presented a Tariff Memorial to the Government, in which they said:

> While we do not favor any discrimination against the United States, as compared with foreign countries, yet the proximity of the great Republic with its gigantic combinations of capital, its keen business men, and its constant surplus production, subjects the manufacturers of Canada to competition which, unless properly safeguarded, means certain ruin.[11]

(iv) *Anti-American Appeal of Protection.*

Thus protectionist arguments have often an anti-American and, within limits, a pro-British tendency. It is a convenient justification for Canadian protection that Americans were the first to erect barriers, and that retaliation, which was little more than self-defence, has led to the creation of interests which cannot be ruthlessly sacrificed.

> For thirty years [said a member of the Canadian Manufacturers' Association in 1910] we sought for reciprocity at Washington and we sought in vain; refused and repulsed, we looked to ourselves, to the great natural resources which we have within our own borders; instead of building our railways from north to south we built them from east to west; we have

9. *Industrial Canada*, July, 1908, p. 1104.
10. *Annual Report of the Dominion Board of Trade, Ottawa*, 1874, p. 112.
11. *Industrial Canada*, March, 1906, p. 495.

stretched across our continent three great transcontinental systems; we have deepened our canals and waterways; we have subsidized steamships to carry our products across the seas; we have opened up our great West; we have erected our own tariff wall and have given a preference to the Mother Country. In short, we have bent all our energies to develop ourselves as an important part of the great Empire to which we belong. It is too late, gentlemen, at this hour, and with this great future now before us—too late to listen to the siren song which comes to us from our great neighbor to the south.[12]

This anti-American appeal was politically of the utmost value, for the farmers and lumbermen, who were being asked to accept the burdens of a protective system, were precisely the groups who had most reason to resent the tariff policy of the United States.

(v) *Labor and Protection.*

But it is not only the leaders of industry who have demanded protection. Canadian Labor has identified itself with the industrial life of the country. It is one of the vested interests. The late Mr. J. T. Foster, President of the Montreal Trades and Labor Council, said:

We are fully aware of, and widely awake to, the fact that we depend for our existence upon the development and expansion of the Canadian industrial establishment. We consider it our heritage, our inalienable right as citizens of the Dominion to build our homes and to plan for the future in the rearing of our families on Canadian soil. We believe that it is the duty of the Government to so manage our fiscal policy that the Canadian workman will not be compelled through idleness in industry to migrate to foreign lands to find employment and earn his living.[13]

Mr. Tom Moore, President of the Trades and Labor Congress, wrote:

It is too late to discuss whether Canada should or should not be an industrial country. . . . Nearly one-half of the working population of Canada is now engaged in manufacturing or in the distribution of the manufactured products, and their interests demand the same consideration and protection from the state as that of any other class.[14]

12. *Industrial Canada*, October, 1910, p. 332.

13. *Information Service, Canadian Reconstruction Association*, No. 86, December 7, 1920.

14. *Canadian Congress Journal*, June, 1925, p. 11.

The editor of the *Canadian Congress Journal* added:

> The facts are that whilst no worker likes tariff duty and would much prefer to see universal free trade, that whilst the United States of America denies Canadian products free entry into that country, and whilst we still desire to develop Canada as an industrial country in competition with the well-developed mass production factories of the United States of America, a measure of protection is an absolute necessity.[15]

But the protection demanded by labor is not merely protection for the finished products of industry, it includes protection for the labor market itself.

"The present immigration policy of Canada," complained the editor of the Montreal *Gazette* (October 21, 1921), "is not based upon the desire to increase production. It is a barrier, created at the bidding of organized labor, for the purpose of establishing something in the nature of a nation-wide closed shop. It is being applied as such and to the exclusion of productive labor."

This attitude is not confined to manual labor. In a memorial presented to the leaders of all parties in the House of Commons, the National Council of the Native Sons of Canada declared:

> Whereas we believe that experts have been brought into this country to do work that could be done by those already in Canada, we therefore urge upon the government the necessity of a still further and more particular investigation being made in each case before such alleged experts are brought in to work in Canada.

(vi) *The Urban Middle Class and Protection.*

In recent years a large number of people of the urban middle class have come to feel that their position is insecure in an international economy of *laissez-faire.* They are apt to seize on international trade and finance as the source of their ills and to demand protection from this "devouring octopus." It is in such movements as that of the Native Sons of Canada that the conception of the self-contained financial nation has received its most decided expression. Major Lavery of Montreal, former second vice-president of the Native Sons, said:

> We must eliminate from our land the tentacles of the world-wide Over-

15. *Ibid.*, April, 1924, p. 33.

heading Money-changing Octopus which draws our finance abroad in investments, dividends, interest and speculative profits, for the cruel diversion of a purely paper-empery without a single tangible asset in its whole make-up. Other nations have been forced to declare for financial independence and Canada must join the suit for a period of intensely local nationalism to rid the world of the general international octopus. . . . Here is a good place to say again that we must forbid the export of dividend, interest, speculative profits and Canadian-made capital abroad.[16]

This view was endorsed by I. S. Henri, also of Montreal, in a public news-letter:

After all these lessons let it be far from the "Native Sons of Canada" to export a dollar of our capital, or allow it to be exported in order to exploit Chinese, Hindu or other cheap labor abroad, and then bring their product here into departmental stores and other competition with our present skimpy manufactures, and also break down the home payroll.

Far be it from "the Native Sons of Canada" to accept the alleged capital of the foreign exploiter in order that he may drive Canadian residents to work at slavery pay and conditions for him to build a mansion abroad.

Far be it from the "Native Sons of Canada" to try to use "Foreign Trade" in the modern octopus sense of exploiting our neighbors. If we are still tempted to try some more of the octopus duplicities, we shall always continue to get the worst of it, for we are predominantly an agricultural country. And it is like irritating the sore of our folly to remind ourselves of our present hell of suffering, which is burning us up on account of departing so far from our own ideal of minding our own business at home, growing and manufacturing for home need only. Let us bring back home our earlier ideal of "the self-sustained and self-contained life" which balanced our happiness so much better.[17]

(vii) *Farmers and Protection.*

It would be too hasty a judgment to class all farmers as opponents of the tariff. Many of them are organized for production for the home market. Mr. H. B. Savage, of the United Farmers of Quebec, declared in a speech at an election meeting that the farmers of Quebec "were protectionists, and on such an important question as the tariff did not mean to follow blindly the lead of the

16. *A New Year's Message,* Private MSS. of Major Lavery.

17. News Column of the Native Sons of Canada, Open Letter addressed to Major Salluste Lavery, LL.B., K.C.

western farmers." (The *Gazette*, Montreal, November 28, 1921, p. 7.) Even the western farmers, however, have come to look to the government for help and are as likely to complain about shipments of Argentine beef and corn to Eastern Canada as about the price of agricultural machinery. And yet, while for practical purposes they may accept their position as part of the national community, they are ready to ask for compensation for the burden which the protective tariff has imposed upon them, and consider freer trade as a desirable if not an immediately practicable aim.[18]

III. *Economic Organizations and Their Influence.* (By S. Delbert Clark.)

(i) *The Canadian Manufacturers' Association.*

In examining briefly the divergent economic forces which combine, or compromise with one another, to form the national policy of Canada, we have had occasion to quote the pronouncements of organizations which have been formed for the advancement of the interests of their members. One of the main objects of these organizations is to influence Canadian opinion; and, as we have seen, opinions and attitudes which concern the United States are of importance to organizations anxious to affect the economic policy of Canada. Our next task will be to describe some of these organizations in detail and to investigate the methods which they employ.

The Canadian Manufacturers' Association is a purely economic institution created to secure certain common interests of its members. Its functions are defined for it by its purposes. Its policy is a matter of opportunism; its relations with the government, its affiliations with other institutions, its educational campaigns, whether among labor, farmers or the general public, are governed by the exigencies of the moment.

The first Canadian Manufacturers' Association arose out of the depression of the early 'seventies. Prior to this time, we are told, the few men who represented the manufacturing industries of Canada, "wielded no political power and had no political influence

18. *See* pp. 300–303, in which the attitude of the *Winnipeg Free Press* towards American tariff policies is discussed.

whatever." The crisis "demanded prompt and organized action, and in defence of their interests a number of manufacturers banded together for the purpose of awakening public interest and formulating a sentiment, the demand of which should result in a radical change of policy on the part of the Government." In 1874 a report, submitted by the general committee, was adopted, recommending a definite set of duties on different articles "which were, or might be, made in Canada."

In 1875 the Association was reorganized as the Ontario Manufacturers' Association. Its objects included the securing of the aid "of both public opinion and governmental policy in favor of the development of home industry," unity of action for common defence, and the maintenance of "Canada for the Canadians." "It may be safely said that to the organization afforded by the Association was mainly due the triumph of this policy in 1878." From 1879 onwards the Association "devoted itself to the guarding of the cause of protection in Canada and dealing with tariff grievances of individual industries."[19] But it undertook other functions as well, such as the encouragement of export trade and the advocacy of technical education. In 1887 it adopted the name of Canadian Manufacturers' Association, and in 1900 it was thoroughly reorganized to include the association in Montreal, which had hitherto been separate, and newly formed branches in other parts of Canada.

(ii) *Boards of Trade.*

The Boards of Trade express diversified economic interests. They are highly representative of the local community and may at one time be identified with the interests of overseas trade, at another with the protection of local interests. They are essentially community mouthpieces and there is not necessarily any community of interest between different Boards of Trade whose concerns may be regional or even local. They have, nevertheless, endeavored to form a national organization. In 1871 a Dominion Board of Trade was established which lasted for eight years but was torn with sectional strife. Between 1879 and 1925 conferences were held which never attempted to bring about a permanent

19. *Industrial Canada,* November, 1901, p. 81.

organization. In 1925 a Dominion Board of Trade was formed, which changed its name in the following year to the Canadian Chamber of Commerce. Mr. William Birks of Montreal wrote:

> The primary function of the Chamber is to obtain a matured judgment of business on national economic questions and to present and interpret these views to the agencies of the Government and to the public. . . . The National Chamber stands for the larger loyalties and the wider interests. The parish politician may struggle with the parish pump, but the Canadian Chamber expects to create a national viewpoint for Canadian business.[20]

Clustered about these two main organizations, the Canadian Manufacturers' Association and the Canadian Chamber of Commerce, are numerous associations of those engaged in particular industries.

(iii) *Allied Interests.*

There can be no doubt that these organizations exercise an influence on public opinion out of all proportion to their numbers. If we count in with them, as for many purposes we may safely do, the executives of railways and banks, their members enjoy collectively the prestige which goes with the control of great wealth, while individually their leaders are likely to possess a certain social superiority in the community, in comparison with those of labor or agriculture. As groups they are realistic and self-interested, rather than sentimental. "My politics today are my business," said one manufacturer.[21] Yet as individuals their members may be as prejudiced and as sentimental as any other citizens, affected by religious faith or national loyalty, by aesthetic or philanthropic emotions. And they may form other associations for the expression of these other human tendencies. Business, however, remains business. The American, who has established a factory in Canada, contributes his money to a "Made-in-Canada" or to a nationalist campaign. Four of the five companies which presented a memorandum to the Tariff Committee in 1921, insisting that "the protective tariff has been the primary factor in the development of this

20. *Resumé of the Proceedings of the Second Annual Convention, Canadian Chamber of Commerce,* Vancouver, September 12, 13, and 14, 1927, p. 107.

21. *Industrial Canada,* October, 1903, p. 125.

industry in Canada,"[22] were branches of American firms. No one in the United States or Canada finds anything incongruous in this action. Even in 1911 it could be said that "of the recent Presidents of the Canadian Manufacturers' Association, three were heads of branches of United States Houses; but in these cases it need hardly be said they were none the less Canadian."[23]

Though the Canadian Manufacturers' Association makes direct representations to the government, it depends in the end on securing the support of public opinion for the achievement of its objectives. "Let us ask for public opinion," said the President of the Association in 1925, "a fair share of influence in the councils of the nation in order to enable us to be better trustees [of the people's savings]. Let us go to the people, talk to them personally, vindicate the sincerity of our motives and the soundness of our policy. Let us use the press to carry further our message of good will and our cordial desire to coöperate. Let us educate the country to the dangers of a class movement in politics."[24]

Quite apart from formal propaganda, the direct influence of such a body of men as the Canadian Manufacturers' Association comprises is very great. Its membership alone is about four thousand and this membership is representative of a much larger group, since each firm has usually only one and seldom more than two members in the Association. At least a few members of the Association are to be found in the most important organizations in the cities. To take Montreal as an example: of the 559 members of the Montreal branch of the Canadian Manufacturers' Association, 257 are members of the Montreal Board of Trade, 163 of the Montreal Canadian Club and 26 of the Royal Empire Society. These figures, it must be remembered, take no account of firms represented by one of their members in the Association and by another in the Board of Trade or the Canadian Club. On the committee of the National Council of Education, which organized

22. *Canadian Reconstruction Association, Information Service,* No. 91, January 12, 1921.

23. *Industrial Canada,* September 1911,, p. 166. For a picturesque illustration of Canadianization *see* Francis Bell, "What Price Loyalty," *Canadian Magazine,* January, 1932.

24. *Industrial Canada,* July, 1925, p. 130.

the Educational Conference in Montreal in 1926, five of the ninety-two members belonged to the Canadian Manufacturers' Association, one was the wife of a member of that Association, and six were members of firms represented in the Association. Many of the other members represented closely allied fields of business activity, such as banking, transportation and insurance. The Board of Governors of McGill University, the Protestant School Commission, the patrons of the Y.M.C.A. and other social and educational institutions call upon very much the same group of community leaders.

Equally important is the position of the wives of the manufacturers. Their command of wealth and their social position make it natural for them to play a leading part in the direction of women's organizations. One hundred and thirty members of the Women's Section of the Montreal Canadian Club are wives of members of the Canadian Manufacturers' Association. And relatives of members of the Association are to be found among the supporters of those public activities which command the respect of their *milieu;* education, health, nationalism, temperance, morality, and the protection of horses and dogs against cruelty and neglect.

There is nothing sinister in all this interlacing of membership in different organizations. It is a normal part of our social order. The men and women who devote themselves in part to public service are likely to be better men and better women than those who do not. But it is a by-product of their activity that there is apt to be a similarity of tone between these different organizations and that support is likely to come from many quarters for the policies which economic associations advocate. And the formal propaganda of these associations falls on ground which is well prepared to receive it.[25]

25. How well prepared an example will show. It fell to my lot to expound the fallacy of the "home market" argument to a group of women in Vancouver intent on education. The group had before it a request to support a campaign for buying British Columbia products. To my horror, the President summarized my address as an appeal to buy British Columbia products where possible, then to give a preference to Canadian products, and finally to buy Empire products rather than foreign goods. Neither cynicism nor stupidity was the explanation of this behavior. It was an act of faith. Profoundly convinced of the patriotic duty which lay before the members of the group, the President could not believe that a uni-

(iv) *Formal Propaganda.*

The formal propaganda takes the form of nation-wide campaigns, many of them directed by subsidiary organizations. Such was the Protective Tariff Educational Campaign, which was launched in 1902. "During the past year an effort has been made to educate the people on this question [of the tariff]. The Campaign was begun at the suggestion of the Honorable W. S. Fielding" (Minister of Finance in a Liberal Government).[26] In 1903, the Canadian Industrial League was organized in connection with the Educational Campaign. A membership of 30,000 was secured, pledged not only to buy Canadian goods, but to support by their vote and influence the election of members to parliament who would demand the protection of Canadian industries.[27] The campaign came to an end in 1905 and the idea was not revived until 1909. In that year the Commercial Intelligence Committee of the Canadian Manufacturers' Association recommended the adoption of an advertising campaign.

The Committee proposed to have "Made-in-Canada" principles taught in the schools throughout the Dominion, "because of the close association between the Made-in-Canada idea and the sentiments of loyalty and patriotism which it is the duty of our schools to encourage"; to give practical encouragement to Made-in-Canada exhibitions; to solicit the assistance of commercial travellers; to contract for advertising space in newspapers all over Canada; to arrange for lectures and moving-picture entertainments; to establish showrooms in all the principal cities; to locate information bureaus.

Papers to which contracts were given for this kind of advertising could not very well refuse to advocate the idea in their editorial columns. To ensure these editorials being weighty enough to produce an effect, manufacturers should have in their employ an editor who would not exactly write editorials for the various papers, but who would furnish them with suggestions as to how the subject might be treated. . . . To give point to these editorials, to make it topical, as it were, a watch might be kept

versity professor could be so depraved as to differ from her, whatever his words might superficially appear to mean.—(Editor.)

26. *Industrial Canada*, November, 1903, p. 201.

27. *Industrial Canada*, October, 1909, p. 300.

over all important meetings of Boards of Trade, labor organizations, teachers' associations, etc., and an effort made to have them pass resolutions supporting the Made-in-Canada principle. This would then be the local editor's cue to touch upon the subject once more, and to utilize one of the outlined editorials which had previously been supplied him. . . .[28]

The following year the Commercial Intelligence Committee reported on their deliberations regarding the educational campaign, and although attention was being turned away from it by the Reciprocity issue, proposed a plan to advertise in thirty-one city dailies, twelve weeklies, sixty-two town dailies, eight religious papers, fifteen miscellaneous publications and the various trade journals at a cost of approximately $25,000 a year.[29] But the election of 1911 caused the postponement of the campaign.[30] Nevertheless work was carried on in a quiet way. Displays were made at exhibitions, and aid was given to Made-in-Canada demonstrations organized by the Daughters of the Empire and other societies. A small hanger was issued displaying Made-in-Canada sentiments in the form of a creed and plans were under way for supplying a neatly framed copy to every school in Canada. However, much of the work which the Committee had proposed to do was taken over by the Canadian Home Market Association, which was devoting itself to a campaign in furtherance of the Made-in-Canada principle.[31] It is not necessary to follow in detail the working out of these propagandist activities during the following years. In 1912 the first Made-in-Canada train toured the country displaying the products of Canadian producers.[32] In 1915 a special effort was made and advertisements and cartoons appeared in hundreds of Canadian newspapers.[33] Organizations such as the Canadian Reconstruction Association and the Produced-in-Canada Associations were launched to direct propagandist campaigns.

It is not denied that the inception of the Canadian Industrial Reconstruction Association has had its origins in selfish objectives. In a sense it

28. *Ibid.*, October, 1909, pp. 296–297.
29. *Ibid.*, October, 1910, p. 263.
30. *Ibid.*, November, 1911, p. 400.
31. *Ibid.*, November, 1911, p. 400.
32. *Ibid.*, May, 1912, p. 1151.
33. *Ibid.*, July, 1915, pp. 360–364.

is a defensive or protective association, organized to safeguard industry from possible inimical and baneful legislation. At the same time the men who compose the Association are citizens as well as manufacturers, men of eminence and distinction in their own communities, and in larger ones, on whom the country relies for the conduct of big industrial enterprises, and are true Canadians. . . . They are patriots with a sincere desire to see Canada built up in all good and true ways.[34]

The radio, films, pamphlets, circulars, bulletins, advertisements in newspapers, the back of pay envelopes, cards put in pay envelopes, Produced-in-Canada exhibitions and Produced-in-Canada weeks were a few of the agencies employed.[35] It was even hoped to make use of the schools.

A member of the Canadian Manufacturers' Association said, in 1915:

In our schools is the place where we ought to train the children. We ought to take a lead from the Germans' book and train them in the school—train them from the time they are five years old, when they go to the kindergarten—to believe in nothing else but Made-in-Canada goods. We ought to importune our Education Department for each province to make that part and parcel of the curriculum of their schools—that they should be put into even the Sunday schools along with the Shorter Catechism and the Ten Commandments. They do that in Germany; they are taught from the first day they go to school to believe in buying everything that is made in Germany. We can do it equally well here, and we can do it to far greater effect, because we can raise our children here to think there is nothing else but Canada and goods made in Canada.[36]

Thus the manufacturers maintain that protection is not a narrow selfish policy designed to benefit them at the expense of the other classes in the community, but rather that it is in the interests of all classes—labor and agriculture as well as manufacturing. They accept and disseminate the agreeable doctrine "If I do well others must do well also,"[37] and contend that the tariff should not be a party issue.

"Party politics," writes the editor of *Industrial Canada*, "has

34. *Ibid.*, June, 1918, p. 45.
35. *See Ibid.*, Vol. 31, No. 3, 1930, p. 183.
36. *Ibid.*, July, 1915, p. 372.
37. *Ibid.*, September, 1902, p. 84.

surely sufficient accompanying evils without throwing open to its temptations and leaving at its mercy a national question, upon the solution of which depends the whole future of our Dominion. . . . In these days of opportunity (1902), when our United States cousins are capturing our markets and laying jealous eyes upon our splendid resources, are we to place a party label upon the important issues of national development."[38] The Canadian Manufacturers' Association does not identify itself with any political party, for reasons which are obviously sound. "The disadvantages," said its President in 1925, "of throwing our lot with one party alone, is [sic] quite clear; it creates opposition to our ideals and is sure to hurt the best interests of this country when that opposition climbs to power."[39] It is therefore essential to persuade the public that the interests of the manufacturers coincide with those of the nation. A year later the President of the Association puts this point clearly:

> All the members, officers and officials of this Association of ours should endeavor to prove to the public that the interests of the country at large are our own interests, and that the success and prosperity of this country of ours are our own success and our own prosperity which will revert and come back to us.[40]

(v) *The Urban Community.*

But these brave words in no way preclude special appeals being made to special interests within the nation. In the course of the "Reciprocity" election of 1911 it was to the urban community that such appeals were directed. "Our policy," said Mr. George Perley, at Lachute, Quebec, "is to make them (the Americans) do their manufacturing here and thus build up our towns and cities." (Montreal *Daily Star*, September 1, 1911, p. 6.) And ten years later Mr. Meighen defined the choice as one of "larger Canadian industrial centers or depopulated Canadian towns. Doubtless the free traders would find pleasure in a greater Buffalo or a greater Chicago." (The *Gazette*, Montreal, November 11, 1921.)

38. *Ibid.*, September, 1902, p. 42.
39. *Ibid.*, July, 1925, p. 129.
40. *Ibid.*, July, 1926, p. 98.

(vi) *Women.*

A special appeal is also addressed to women, who are supposed to be easily inspired with patriotic fervor.

> The women of Canada can do more than the men to reduce our huge importations of foreign manufactures. Women are the real captains of finance. Where they do not hold the family purse strings they at least influence them. They buy much, and they cause their admirers, fathers, husbands and brothers to buy more. If they resolve to buy Canadian goods our industrial battle is half won. What are they doing? From Ottawa comes the report that the Household League wants "Made-in-Canada" goods. The Daughters of the Empire, always patriotic, are calling for their own country's manufactures. Many other women's associations are taking up the cry. . . . Let the women lead the way, the men must gladly follow.[41]

The same sentiments were repeated in 1930, by the President of the Manufacturers' Association:

> They (the manufacturers) also have a selfish interest in the ladies, because all of us men present know, one of our maxims is, "Use produced-in-Canada goods" and there is no greater purchasing element in Canada than our ladies. . . . It was my privilege here in Toronto, about seven or eight months ago, to address a gathering of some four or five hundred of them, presenting to them the reasons for the adoption of this slogan to favor produced-in-Canada goods. They received this idea whole-heartedly, enthusiastically, and they have gone out and spread this slogan and that doctrine throughout their organizations and throughout Ontario and throughout rural Canada.[42]

(vii) *Holders of Railway Securities.*

Another class to which the manufacturers appeal consists of holders of railway securities, who include a very large body of small investors not closely identified with other interests. "No class of the community," wrote the editor of *Industrial Canada* in 1903, "would receive more benefit from the adoption of a policy of adequate protection for Canadian industries than stockholders in the great railways. Every industry established in Canada makes traffic for the railways."[43] This argument is used more than once.

41. *Industrial Canada*, October, 1914, p. 268.
42. *Ibid.*, July, 1930, p. 200.
43. *Ibid.*, May, 1903, p. 433.

In 1922, the President of the Canadian Manufacturers' Association said, "The transportation systems have been developed on the East and West principle. Their welfare is dependent on the maintenance of adequate duties between Canada and the United States, as every reduction in these duties increases North and South traffic at the expense of East and West traffic."[44] The fact that it is now the taxpayers who have to meet the deficits on a great part of the mileage of Canadian railways has increased the range of the manufacturers' appeal. "Our railways," wrote Mr. S. B. Brown, manager of the Transportation Department of the Canadian Manufacturers' Association, "over 50 per cent of which are owned by the people of Canada, are absolutely dependent upon conditions which will assure the movement of traffic largely east and west."[45]

(viii) *Labor.*

A somewhat similar appeal is made to the workers employed in industry and transportation. For these workers, like the owners of railway and industrial securities, are dependent for their incomes on the prosperity of the manufacturing industries.

I think, gentlemen [said the President of the Canadian Manufacturers' Association in 1919] that if the laboring men knew what this Association did, what its work was, they would realize that this Association, in its efforts for the development of industry in Canada, was as much for the working man as for the owner of the factory. We are in no sense a union, as they understand a union, but I think as time goes on and labor, real labor, in Canada understands this Association, they will look upon it as the best friend they have in the country. We leave bargaining between capital and labor to the Employers' Association and other organizations, and the efforts of this association in a broad way are for the development of industry in Canada, and, if the development of industry in Canada does not mean more jobs, more wages and improvement in their conditions, then we have not succeeded.[46]

Employers and employees [said a member of the Association in 1924] would have to work together when it came to another election. If, as employers, the members of the Canadian Manufacturers' Association did

44. *Ibid.*, July, 1922, p. 145.
45. *Ibid.*, January, 1925, p. 107.
46. *Ibid.*, July, 1919, p. 209.

not bring about that condition, it would be largely their own fault. Employees could undoubtedly be educated to such an extent that they would vote with the manufacturers for a policy of protection, in order to maintain employment.[47]

This appeal to labor, and the appeal of the individual industries which advertised in the *Canadian Congress Journal*, urging its readers to buy Canadian-made goods to keep Canadians employed, were purely pecuniary appeals and the patriotic note which had been used in addressing the women was absent. And the educational process seems to have been successful. In 1911 the Executive of the Trades and Labor Congress at Calgary had declared its belief that "the Reciprocity Agreement between Canada and the United States is in the interests of the Canadian people. If other proof of this were wanting, the fact that the Canadian Manufacturers' Association is against it would be sufficient to prove it must be of some value to the workers." (The *Gazette*, Montreal, September 12, 1911, p. 9.) But in 1919 the Executive Council of the Trades and Labor Congress coöperated with the Executive of the Canadian Manufacturers' Association in a conference called by the Government to study tariff protection as a means of reducing unemployment, and the two organizations promoted in common the Produced-in-Canada campaign.[48] They were again working together in the Empire Shopping Week campaign begun in 1928.[49]

The appeal to the workers' sense of insecurity is particularly effective in periods of depression. But at all times they can be urged to safeguard their standard of living. In opposing Imperial Trade Agreements, which would throw open the Canadian market to British producers, the Canadian Manufacturers' Association issued a statement:

> Canadian standards of living and wages are higher than those of the United Kingdom, and it is necessary to ensure sufficient protection for Canadian production to offset the difference; otherwise, our wages and standards will be lowered, or unemployment will be transferred from the United Kingdom to Canada.[50]

47. *Ibid.*, July, 1924, p. 133.
48. *Canadian Congress Journal*, March, 1926, p. 32.
49. *Ibid.*, April, 1929, p. 55.
50. *Industrial Canada*, July, 1930, p. 104.

Finally, migration from Canada to the United States is attributed to inadequate tariff protection for Canadian industry.

> At least three-fourths of those who leave Canada for the United States go to seek employment in the cities and towns of that country, and many Canadians are actually occupied in the United States producing goods for consumption in Canada. If there had been in force in Canada during the last thirty years a policy of protection as thorough and consistent as that which has so wonderfully developed the United States, there would be very few Canadians over the border today.[51]

(ix) *Agriculture.*

It was harder to secure the support of agriculture for the policies of the Canadian Manufacturers' Association, partly because there is no immediate prospect of an economic balance which would provide a Canadian market for the entire Canadian agricultural production. But, while the need for export markets can never be denied, the importance of a home market secure from the menace of foreign tariffs can be emphasized.

"The farmer," wrote the editor of *Industrial Canada* in 1902, "is not opposed to the manufacturer. Increased manufacturing means increased population, and higher prices for the products of the soil. The manufacturer is not opposed to the farmer, but rather dependent upon him. There is a home market for both in which each is mutually dependent upon the other. Then why not stand together?"[52] "Let me ask the Ontario farmer," said Sir Thomas White in 1921, "whether today, with the Fordney tariff law in effect, they would be better with industrial centers like Montreal, Toronto, Hamilton, and other cities and towns with diminished populations and with existing industries crippled or wiped out? It is the greatest advantage to the farmer to have a home market of which he can be certain." (The *Gazette*, Montreal, October 12, 1921, p. 9.) "It must be remembered," said the Honorable Mr. Stewart in the same year, "that there are 675,000 people in Canada actively engaged in manufacturing, and they, with their dependents, constitute a community of over two million people." (The *Gazette*, Montreal, November 3, 1921, p. 2.) The conception of

51. *Ibid.*, December, 1902, p. 234.
52. *Ibid.*, June, 1902, p. 354.

a balanced economy was endorsed by the Honorable Mr. Taschereau, Premier of Quebec:

It may be that for many years to come (as from 1921) the tariffs of foreign countries will close their markets to our produce both manufactured and agricultural. We must then become, in a far larger measure, the consumers of our own goods. Now the agricultural interests cannot prosper, cannot survive without great centers to receive and distribute their products. Our towns, on the other hand, cannot increase and support their work people unless the rural folks buy their manufactured goods.[53]

Another argument which has been addressed to the farmers is that it is worth some sacrifice to keep their sons in Canada.

Manitoba and the Canadian North-West [wrote the editor of *Industrial Canada* in 1903] should profit by the experience of the Eastern provinces. All the loyalty of their ancestors to the British Empire did not prevent the young men of the East from emigrating to the United States. Unless home industries are provided for the sons of the men who are now settling in the Canadian North-West they, too, will drift back to the land of their fathers.[54]

But sometimes the language used about the farmers is that of reproach.

The Canadian manufacturers have every reason to expect a more friendly feeling from the farmers of this country. The manufacturers have always urged the adoption of every measure designed to advance the interests of the farmer. . . . In view of all this, is it any wonder that the Canadian manufacturer should be surprised and pained to find the Canadian farmer misrepresenting him, and declaring that he is actuated by selfish and unworthy motives.[55]

"We have opened land in the Canadian West," said Mr. Cahan, in 1911, "and have handed it over to these farmers. They have waxed rich, and in ten years have gathered in more wealth than they could have amassed in any other country in the world in twenty-five years. Now they want more, and even make their demand to the detriment of the rest of the community." (The *Gazette*, Montreal, September 12, 1911, p. 2.) "The farmers," said

53. The *Gazette*, Montreal, September 23, 1921, p. 8.
54. *Industrial Canada*, March, 1903, p. 354.
55. *Ibid.*, January, 1908, p. 474.

Mr. Meighen in 1921, "were unwilling to bear their part, too, in the great cost of building up Canada. The Eastern Provinces had been bled white in constructing railways through to the West, and now the farmers objected to bearing their share of the long haul, and desired to trade with the United States in order to save freight." (The *Gazette*, Montreal, November 11, 1921, p. 2.)

Of course it was realized that such reproaches should not be addressed to the farmers directly.

> I think [said a western member of the Canadian Manufacturers' Association in 1919] it would be well for the Manufacturers' Association to study the psychology of the farmer and put on some sort of educational campaign. . . . You know yourself that the man who stays in a locality is probably not as broad-minded as the man that is able to get about a bit, and probably it is the duty of the Manufacturers' Association to lead in the matter of trying to show a proper spirit.[56]

A few years earlier, a member had spoken even more frankly. "If it is true that we want higher protection, for heaven's sake don't let us go into the rural and agricultural communities and give them this dose in such unpalatable form; surely some sugar-coating can be put upon it, and instead of its being a plea for more protection, let it be a little more on the lines of a friendly discussion on raising the revenue."[57] By 1930 a better formula had been found, "As long as the manufacturers of this country talk high tariff we are educating the public the wrong way. If we can educate the farmers in the West to recognize that we are only asking for a reasonable tariff . . . we will go a long way towards bringing them to see matters as we see them."[58]

(x) *Diffusion of Industry.*

It is also fully realized that greater diffusion of manufacturing throughout Canada would do a great deal to consolidate national opinion. "It is by these industrial communities growing up in different provinces that public opinion is formulated, and I think the greatest asset of the Canadian manufacturers at large would

56. *Ibid.*, July, 1919, p. 225.
57. *Ibid.*, October, 1910.
58. *Ibid.*, July, 1930, p. 173.

be to establish themselves in the Western parts of Canada, and then in time we would become a real voice in our country."[59]

IV. *Conclusions.*

It must be frankly recognized that the picture which the Canadian Manufacturers' Association and its allies have drawn of themselves and of Canada is not an inspiring one. First of all, the highest possible *per capita* income is allowed to stand as the prime objective of the state, and then the argument that this objective might be better secured by free trade than by protection is met by an appeal to the vested interests which are dependent on the economic structure that has been established by protection. The nation, it is true, is represented as a partnership, but a partnership very different from that by which Burke described the objects of the state:

> But the state ought not to be considered as nothing better than a partnership agreement in a trade of pepper and coffee, calico or tobacco, or some other such low concern, to be taken up for a little temporary interest, and to be dissolved by the fancy of the parties. It is to be looked on with other reverence; because it is not a partnership in things subservient only to the gross animal existence of a temporary nature. It is a partnership in all science; a partnership in all art; a partnership in every virtue and in all perfection. As the ends of such a partnership cannot be obtained in many generations, it becomes a partnership not only between those who are living, but between those who are living, those who are dead, and those who are to be born.[60]

It must also be recognized that the Manufacturers' conception of the nation could well be made the basis of the very charge of materialism which Canadians are so quick to direct against the United States and against Americans. (*See* pp. 12–13 and 389–391.)

It is possible, however, that our picture of the Canadian Manufacturers' Association, although authentic, is unfair and that the picture of Canada is distinctly false. For the manufacturers have perhaps been driven to avoid in their discussions everything in life beyond the one single aim which unites them all, and to

59. Mr. L. L. Anthes of Montreal, *Ibid.*, July, 1930, p. 191.

60. Burke, *Reflections on the Revolution in France*, Works, V. (London, 1823), p. 182.

address other classes in the community in the language of purely financial partnership, in order to escape from the danger of arousing opposition. Money-making may thus be rather the highest common denominator of individuals than their chief objective in life, and the nation which is to be integrated on an economic basis may be capable of higher achievements which the manufacturers modestly leave to other hands. Man does not live to eat, but there is nothing sordid in being a dietitian and taking your business seriously. Indeed, it is implicit in the manufacturers' arguments that there must be something more in national life than material well-being, and their dialectics would place them in a peculiarly vulnerable position if they have committed themselves to accepting *per capita* real income as the sole test of policy.

The next chapter will be devoted to tracing other elements in the national consciousness of Canada and to seeing in how far sentiment has been able to survive in the stern climate of North America. We may seem to have diverged to some extent from our primary purpose of studying Canadian opinion as it relates to the United States and to relations with that country. But in any examination of economic nationalism in Canada it must be clear that the United States is Enemy No. 1 against whom both Canadian national sentiment and imperial loyalties can be enlisted as allies. Enemy No. 2 is, of course, Great Britain, but with this enemy, as we have seen, a compromise can be made, and even a precarious alliance. We shall have to consider whether sentimental nationalism conforms closely to economic nationalism, or follows it with some sort of time-lag, or is capable of transcending economic nationalism and of itself dominating Canada's external relations by making its own compromises or alliances with imperial sentiment, with internationalism, or with the United States.

CHAPTER X

CANADIAN NATIONAL SENTIMENT AND IMPERIAL SENTIMENT

I. *Introduction.*

In the last chapter we have seen how the groups interested in the development of Canadian industry and those interested in the development of imperial trade formed an alliance to oppose American competition and how, in making an appeal for a protectionist policy they tried to persuade almost every citizen of Canada that he, in one capacity or another, had a vested interest in the protective tariff. We have now to consider appeals directed rather to sentiment than to economic interest. The attempt was made to develop a strong national sentiment by intensive propaganda, and to utilize this national sentiment as a political force. The success of this attempt was accompanied by a certain idealization of Canadian nationhood. But for the most part the appeal to Canadian national sentiment was closely allied with an appeal to imperial sentiment. In alliance these two appeals were very powerful, for imperial sentiment was strong where Canadian national sentiment was at its weakest: in matters of tradition and pageantry and emotion. The alliance constituted a patriotic movement. Yet in the hands of organizations which were primarily economic and were in many of their activities cold-blooded realists, a patriotic movement is apt to appear artificial and even sinister. Both Canadian nationalism and British imperial sentiment derive strength from the support they receive from vested interests that are not financial but sentimental, for the social importance of many people depends on the continuance of the existing order. They are also strengthened by anti-Americanism, in exploiting which sentiment they have found themselves in curious alliance with a Canadian labor movement that seeks to keep Canadian labor free from the domination of the American Federation of Labor. All these considerations explain how the strength of Canadian nationalist feeling can exist in spite of the extraordinary poverty of Canadian national life—a poverty which is only emphasized by the attempt to give that life a positive content and

to describe the characteristics that are distinctively Canadian. Finally, we shall notice the forces which tend to separate British and Canadian loyalties. These are twofold. The first is the economic self-interest for which protection against Great Britain is only second in importance to protection against the United States. The other is the development of an internationalist movement by Canadian intellectuals.

II. *Propaganda to Develop National Feeling.* (By S. Delbert Clark.)

If the vision of a Canadian nation lay behind Confederation, the construction of the Transcontinental Railway, and the National Policy of Protection, these political and economic developments took some time in achieving their purpose. For it was necessary to break down the barriers which existed between one Province and another, to create a sentiment of Canadianism, and to keep both the economic and the political life of Canada clear from foreign entanglements. We have seen that, as more and more people arranged their lives and invested their money on the assumption of the permanence of the Canadian nation, strong vested interests were created which were exposed to heavy losses if the experiment failed. From the outset, the Canadian Manufacturers' Association realized the precarious position in which it was placed and endeavored to encourage the growth of that national sentiment which alone could give a permanent basis to economic arrangements which cut a continent in half.

"We are not manufacturers," said the President of the Association in 1903, "merely of articles of wood and stone, and iron and cotton and wool, and so on; we manufacture enthusiasm; we manufacture Canadian sentiment; we manufacture a feeling of pride in our country, and we manufacture a spirit of independence, and a spirit of national pride. We have been doing that for some time."[1] "What we want to do, and what every man in Canada wants to do," said a member in 1904, "is to preserve our nationality."[2]

It is important [said the President-elect in 1927] that we shape our [the Association's] policies and our work so that we will create a national

1. *Industrial Canada*, October, 1903, p. 103.
2. *Ibid.*, April, 1904, p. 445.

sentiment from coast to coast that will be instilled in the minds of our young people so that they will be inspired with the idea that Canada is a good country to live in, and make their life work in it. We see in the United States from earliest infancy the child taught to reverence the United States, led to believe that the United States is the greatest country in the world. . . . We want that spirit over here, we want our youth to grow up to believe that Canada is the first and greatest country in the world, to love the land of their birth and of their adoption.[3]

The interested character of the motives is frankly acknowledged, but the idealization of a Canadian nation may be thoroughly sincere and can even serve as a justification for action which might otherwise appear unreasonably selfish. Thus those who are invited to share in that idealization are regarded as comrades rather than as dupes. The drawback to all justifications or rationalizations of conduct is that they may justify too much, and that consistency eventually may require behavior that runs counter to the interests which have been justified.

II. *National Feeling as a Political Force.* (By S. Delbert Clark.)

Once Canadian patriotism can be assumed as a basic fact in the situation, the demand for a protective tariff against the United States can be transformed into a patriotic appeal at election times. Thus a moral issue can be placed before the electorate. It can be said that the objectives of Canadian national life can be preserved only by a tariff which will protect Canadian economic life from the invasion of United States industry. The vague attitudes and feelings of the Canadian people, the wish to be identified with a cause and a faith transcending every-day experience, the desire to share the responsibility for the security and welfare of an ideal lying outside the individual, are given effective direction. For good or ill the political consequences of this simplification of national policies have been momentous, and it is arguable that democracy functions best when the elector can conceive of his act in voting as a moral decision rather than as a sordid attempt to improve his own economic position at the expense of his fellows. There may in this way be a certain advantage in a sublimation of the tariff.

3. *Ibid.*, July, 1927, pp. 117–118.

Thus the Reciprocity Issue in 1911 was decided on a national basis, for as against the United States national and imperial sentiment are in constant alliance. Mr. J. F. Johnston, a Conservative candidate in Montreal, said:

> We are in the arena struggling for the future of our homes and our country. . . . President Taft is not a promoter of international good will; he is a promoter of American imperialism. After treating us to the big stick for a long time without success, he is trying to use guile instead of persecution; but the object is the same, to make Canada capitulate to the United States. (The *Gazette*, Montreal, September 8, 1911, p. 16.)

Two weeks later, the same speaker said:

> Are you familiar with her [the United States'] literature, with her history, with the ambition of her great statesmen? Do you think the Americans are behind the Germans in acquisitiveness, in love of power, in a desire to extend their territory? I think they are hungrier nationally than the Germans ever dreamed of being. They have only been at work one hundred years, and they have taken more territory already than Germany accumulated since the days of Charlemagne. And they have tried to take us twice, into the bargain. (The *Gazette*, Montreal, September 20, 1911, p. 6.)

Other election speeches were much less violent, and the press comment on this campaign, which is discussed in another chapter (pp. 178–190), varied greatly from paper to paper. It is only in times of crisis that public men in Canada make violent speeches about the United States, for that country is never thought of as a potential aggressor in the military sense.

IV. *The Idealization of Canadian Nationhood.* (By S. Delbert Clark.)

It remained necessary to face the question of giving some sort of content to the idea of Canadian nationality: some purpose for which the vast resources of the country could be employed; some reason, other than general clamor, why it is desirable that Canadians should arrange to live as a distinct nation. This problem has no counterpart in the case of the older nations, whose history has established their separateness as a question of fact, nor is it difficult in a country whose current literature is isolated, so far as the mass of the people are concerned, by a separate language. No doubt

the example of other nations has affected Canadian opinion by force of example. But to justify the wish to be a nation is a problem for Canadian publicists. The Great War and the expansion of Canadian autonomy into something indistinguishable from national sovereignty were a help to them. So (at any rate until the novelty wore off) was membership in the League of Nations.

> We stand [wrote the Montreal *Gazette* in 1921] on the threshold of a new and enlarged life. We are facing a bigger destiny. We are clothing ourselves in the trappings of nationhood. This is a great and compelling word—"nationhood." We have traveled far from the time—not so long ago as the years count—when British statesmen were willing to let the colonies go—an attitude which Tennyson rebuked in his well-known lines, apostrophizing "that true north," . . . and when we were in a state of helpless adolescence. We are a full-fledged nation now. We have entered into an incomparable inheritance. History is made rapidly; and the action which formed and sent forward the first Canadian battalion in the Great War, consecrated a fresh, a startling but a sequential development of our Dominion national life. The day of small things is past. A great and onerous responsibility is ours. We vote in the League of Nations on equal terms—we send our ambassadors to foreign courts—or will be doing so almost immediately. We are, indeed, at the parting of the ways. The limited life, which saw only restricted political horizons, is no more, and a fuller promise thrills the imagination, while it sobers the reason in contemplation of the high duties which become ours as a member of the comity of nations. . . . He would be dull, indeed, who would not thrill to the enlarged destiny of this Dominion.

Of course, all this had its practical application in the forthcoming election, "Right voting will mean right nationhood." (The *Gazette*, Montreal, October 4, 1921, p. 10.) But, apart from the practical application which inspired the editor, this paragraph is typical of Canadian thought on the subject. Nationhood, the parting of the ways, political horizons, destiny, inheritance, and high duties, are phrases which are constantly used. But we must not be their dupes. We must not dismiss from our minds the possibility that they may mean precisely nothing.

However, it is with loyalty to these national ideals, such as they are, that the issue of trade relations with the United States is identified. "In the coming campaign," said a Conservative

candidate (Captain Thomas J. Coonan) in 1921, "my campaign will be 100 per cent Canadianism." (The *Gazette*, Montreal, November 18, 1921, p. 4.)

"Mackenzie King," said a supporter of Mr. Cahan in 1930, "is the right-hand man of the American Government and it is our duty not only to elect Mr. Cahan, but for our own sakes, for the sakes of our homes, our children, it is up to us to send Mackenzie King back where he belongs—back to work in New York City for the Rockefeller Foundation." (The *Gazette*, Montreal, May 23, 1930, p. 14.)

V. *Imperial Sentiment and Dual Loyalty.* (By S. Delbert Clark.)

Although, as we shall see, there are occasions on which the growth of Canadian nationalism brings it into apparently sharp conflict with imperial loyalties, the general rule is that imperial and national patriotism reinforce one another and are quick to present a common front to North Americanism or internationalism. In the past imperial patriotism has been the dominant partner whose tutelage was invaluable at a time when Canadian sentiment was barely strong enough to hold together the local interests of the Provinces which had federated. The symbols which counted in the life of the ordinary citizen were imperial and not national. The connection with the Empire has been the bedrock upon which the idea of Canadian nationhood has been built. Even today, it is Canada's membership in the Commonwealth of Nations which enables Canadians to feel that they have wider and not narrower political horizons than their American neighbors. (*See* Part I pp. 1–23.) While political energy has often been directed to improving Canada's status within the Empire, and for decreasing the cost or the liabilities which membership may entail, talk of complete separation has never been popular, and times of trial and crisis have been periods of intensified loyalty. Indigenous patriotism and loyalty to the British Crown have, on the whole, blended extremely well.

And yet the content of imperial aspirations is as difficult to define as that of Canadian nationalism and as likely to be described in empty phrases. For Canadians have taken no interest whatever in the vast "dependent Empire" or the problems of administration

which it presents. Such ideas as the "Dual Mandate," "Trusteeship," the "fitting of backward races for self-government," and other versions of the "White Man's Burden" excite little interest and certainly no wish to participate in the adventure. Nor has Canada any close economic ties with the dependent Empire. As an enterprise on which Great Britain is engaged, the dependent Empire is believed by Canadians to be much misunderstood in the United States, but deserving of sympathetic appreciation in Canada.

These two loyalties, which are so difficult to analyze or to define, can, perhaps as a result of their very vagueness, be readily blended. "The development of a strong Canadianism merging in an abiding affection and attachment to the Crown that epitomizes our common British heritage and ideals," is the objective of the Imperial Order Daughters of the Empire.[4] There is a tremendous strength in this dual loyalty. Each individual may distribute the emphasis as he pleases. If one of his ideals is attacked, he may take refuge in the other. People whose outlooks differ widely may sink their differences in the language of compromise. They may sing "O Canada" at the beginning of their meeting and "God Save the King" at the end. Of the former song many versions are current to suit all political tastes: the Cross and the Sword are mentioned in Quebec; the Empire in British Columbia; the rest of Canada reiterates five times over its mildly militaristic wish to "stand on guard" for itself.

The annual inpouring of settlers from the British Isles has introduced into Canada citizens whose interest in the Crown extended to the details of the daily lives of the members of the royal family, and who were happy to feel that they had not migrated to foreign soil. Gradually, and without any conscious change of loyalties, the British-born immigrant comes to identify himself with causes and objectives which are essentially local or even national. His speech remains more English than his conduct. He may hesitate to call his children Canadians, though they are so in fact. He becomes Canadian without ceasing to be British.

There are, as we have seen, exceptions to this statement, for

4. Minutes of the thirtieth Annual Meeting, the National Chapter of Canada, Montreal, May 27–30, 1930, p. 9.

British immigrants who are quite clear that they are entering a new community and who have completely overcome national sentimentality, are inclined to urge the logic of political union between Canada and the United States.

Finally we must recognize that various groups in Canada have had special reasons for attachment to the British Crown. The feeling of antagonism to the French-Canadians has stimulated the British patriotism of the Anglo-Saxon population. Settlers from the north of Ireland were traditionally loyal to the Crown which had protected them from their Catholic neighbors. The French-Canadians have, at times, looked on the Crown as a protection against their English-speaking neighbors in North America, and Canadian nationalism, to be attractive, must offer corresponding guarantees against anglicization. More simply, with the development of Canadian autonomy, it is no longer possible for French-speaking Canada to play one influence against another, and English-speaking Canada has become the only possible screen against the cultural menace of the United States.

Appeals to the imperial loyalties of the British-born population were frequent during the election of 1911. On August 2 of that year the Canadian-British Association was formed in Toronto with the Sons of England organization as its basis. A final appeal issued by the Central Committee of this body declared that "it is the high privilege of the British-born in Canada to unite with the Canadian-born, at the most important general election in Canadian history, to defeat the object of a foreign government." (Toronto *World*, September 21, 1911.)

The Canadian Manufacturers' Association has also made its appeal to imperial sentiment, particularly in connection with the Empire Shopping Week in Canada. The Chairman of the Commercial Intelligence Committee of the Association wrote:

> In 1928 all that we had to start with was the idea that goods produced in Canada and Great Britain and the rest of the Empire are British, and that Canadian-made goods are just as British as any of them and should receive first preference from Canadian buyers. It was also clear that there is a staunch British sentiment that is worthy of maintenance and development without infringing in any way on the rights of other people, and one question that faced the Committee was to capitalize on that and to do it

on a country-wide scale at the same time. Before going very far in developing the project, those who were doing the thinking about it agreed that today, as well as years ago, commerce and industry is replete with hidden romance, is connected with history and noble deeds, and accounts of the stirring past and the equally stirring present are the things that move people. If you move people, they act.[5]

Even among Irish Catholics and French-Canadians the Empire has been favorably contrasted with the United States.

The first act of Britain [said a Conservative candidate (Mr. Johnston) in 1911] when Canada came under British rule, was to guarantee to the French people their religious privileges and the right to use their language. That seems so natural a course to us—and it was no more than right—that you might expect to find it everywhere. But do you? Look at Louisiana—another French settlement on this continent, which came under the rule of another English-speaking nation. Was its language cherished and preserved? It was not. It has almost disappeared. Did the Catholic Church find its privileges safeguarded? Have they got state-aided Catholic schools down there? Nothing of the sort. There is not a state-aided Catholic school in the entire United States. (Here someone shouted, "What about Manitoba and the North-West?") That is a fair question and I will answer it. Manitoba and the West have been Americanized. I would remind you that the party with which I am connected tried to prevent that outrage, but we failed. We believe in justice, but we cannot overcome a majority. (The *Gazette*, Montreal, September 20, 1911, p. 6.)

Perhaps formal speeches made on ceremonial occasions must be discounted as evidence of opinion, but there is a note of sincerity in the address of the Mayor of Montreal, M. Camillien Houde, C.B.E., at the banquet of the Royal Empire Society on May 24, 1935:

It seems right and natural to couple the names of Canada and Empire in one toast. After witnessing the jubilee celebrations I understand the tie which binds the English-Canadian to the rest of the Empire. But it is fitting that I, as a French-Canadian, should offer explanations as to why the most loyal subjects the Empire could have were French-Canadians.

The first reason is that the French-Canadians have an instinct for law and order, which finds itself well expressed in British institutions of government. Whatsoever my relations may be now with the Quebec Legislature

5. *Canadian Congress Journal*, April, 1929, p. 25.

(laughter) I must say that British parliamentary procedure is perhaps more strictly preserved, particularly in its respect for decorum, in the Quebec Legislature, than in any other Canadian parliament. We French-Canadians instinctively revere tradition because we feel that tradition preserves the accumulated wisdom of the past; and we like pageantry because pageantry expresses, so simply that even children can understand it, the principles embodied in tradition. After all, life is more than just a conundrum. There is a school of thought in Canada which says that this Dominion has lost millions of dollars through its membership in the British Commonwealth, which it would have gained if its lot had been cast elsewhere. The French-Canadian answer is very simple, and very French-Canadian. It is this: "What can a few million dollars more procure for us, which is as precious as the preservation of our rights and liberties?"

The second reason why the French-Canadian finds it natural to belong to the British Commonwealth is one that I think has never been pointed out. The French-Canadians have never been without a king. We believe it is natural for us to be monarchical. There is practically no republican sentiment among French-Canadians.

And the third reason why we feel at home in the British Empire under a British king is that Great Britain began to evolve towards her present constitutional form of government under Norman kings, and much of the British blood is Norman. The French-Canadians are also largely Norman, so they are similar peoples. It is natural we should get along together for, after all, blood is as thick as any political institution. The genius of the Norman people, which has developed here into the French-Canadian, is the same genius which, in Britain, has helped to develop the British Empire of today.

But the tie which binds us to the Empire goes beyond these three links. We look across the Atlantic and we see what seems to us to be, next to religion, the most important thing in life. Britain seems to have come through the depression with fewer changes than other countries. Democracy and capitalism we know have developed abuses. In many countries they have tried to reform the abuses by abolishing democracy and capitalism. That is not the British way. Britain has been correcting the abuses of capitalism and democracy in a constitutional way. French-Canadians know there are abuses in capitalism and democracy, but I am on safe ground, I know, when I say French-Canadians want them corrected by methods of evolution, not revolution! (Montreal *Daily Star*, May 24, 1935, p. 3.)

In this, as in other instances, it is easy to associate Canadian

nationalism and imperial loyalty particularly as the latter, while rich in sentimental and emotional values, makes no practical demands on the citizen. We shall see that it is another matter when the imperial tie is considered as involving a contingent risk of war. However, quite apart from this possibility, there is a shift of emphasis by which Canadian interests and Canadian loyalties come to take first place and the imperial connection is eventually judged by the contribution which it can make to Canadian national life.

VI. *Vested Interests of a Sentimental Character.* (By S. Delbert Clark.)

In the first stage in the growth of Canadian national sentiment, the part played by urban life and by migration within the country in replacing local by nation-wide interests and loyalties was important. Numerous organizations came into being to meet the need for giving expression to the consciousness of membership in and loyalty to the wider groups, and were, in turn, dependent for their success on the strength of national feeling. Such organizations as the Canadian Clubs, the National Council of Education and the Imperial Order Daughters of the Empire, because their position is based upon participation in the national community and because the values for which they exist are the values of the nation, depend for the achievement of their objectives on the continuance of the established system of social relationships. Their members have, morally if not financially, a vested interest in the nation and the Empire. Even more so have the officers of these associations. Offices depend upon constituents and associations upon membership. In perpetuating themselves these associations cannot help conducting a type of nationalist propaganda.

"The second point of attack," said the President of the Imperial Order Daughters of the Empire, in 1930, "should be concentration on the recruiting of young women for our ranks. That is the assurance of the immortality of the Order, as it were. If we do not attract the younger women to our ranks, the Order will pass with the passing of our generation."[6]

6. Minutes of the Annual Meeting, 1930.

In this struggle for survival there is real competition with organizations in close affiliation with American interests. And in some degree at least the vitality of Canadian national life is affected by the result. The Convener of the Imperial Order Daughters of the Empire Endowment Fund remarked:

> In the past five to ten years we have seen hundreds of energetic young women, with time, ability and resources at their command, organized first in one city, then in another, and so on, until six of our largest cities are covered, in Junior Leagues, affiliated directly with a United States organization. Yet these are the very recruits we should enlist under our crest. They are the people who should be enlisted in Empire service now, to follow on, when we must yield from falling hands the weapons of struggle in the Empire's cause.[7]

The position of the various national institutions is strengthened by the fact that the status of the individual is secured through participation in the institution. The aggregation of offices within the nation, whether connected with government, with patriotic associations, with churches, or with educational institutions provides for and secures the loyalty of the great body of people within the Canadian national community. Different institutions represent different strata of society, and thus the very conception of Canadian nationhood, the idea of the Empire, and the nature of the symbols which stand for national or imperial objectives vary according to which class or public in the Canadian community identifies itself with them. These considerations are, of course, not peculiar to Canada. What is unique is the constant competition between national and international institutions, and the subdivision of the national organizations into those which do, and those which do not stress imperial loyalty as an integral part of Canadian national sentiment. And if, as has been suggested, the content of both national and imperial ideals has worn rather thin, the importance of the institutions through which they are expressed becomes all the greater, for if these became enfeebled nothing would remain.

7. *Ibid.*, 1931, p. 124.

VII. *The All-Canadian Labor Movement.* (By S. Delbert Clark.)

Such organizations as the All-Canadian Congress of Labor, because they participated in a field of activity already largely controlled by institutions with headquarters in the United States, were compelled from the first to concentrate upon attacking the membership of Canadians in United States organizations. The All-Canadian Congress of Labor, to acquire status in Canada, had to weaken the influence of a rival institution—the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada, which was affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. This competition for the control of Canadian Labor had no parallel in the case of the Manufacturers' Association which, for economic reasons, was nationalistic from the outset.

Thus the All-Canadian Congress set itself to show that the Trades and Labor Congress was under American control and that this foreign control was undesirable. (*See* pp. 101–103.) The editor of the *Canadian Unionist*, the official organ of the All-Canadian Congress, wrote:

> What Canadian labor wants is bargaining power in Canada with Canadian employers. What it wants is political power in Canada in Canadian parliaments. It cannot summon these powers to its call by whistling from the other side of the "international" fence. It can secure these powers only by itself being a power in Canadian trade unionism. The national idea is the only idea which has any real future in our political thinking, and Canadian labor living in Canada without the national idea will be without serious defence against other national groups—such as the agriculturists and industrialists—all strongly actuated by the national idea.[8]

Thus it was important to build up an organization independent of the American Federation of Labor.

"Shall the workers of Canada," asks Alex. Lyon, secretary of the Central Brotherhood, Amalgamated Carpenters of Canada, "be controlled by those whose aims and objects are in direct conflict with the aims and interests of Canadian workers, or shall we build up a trade union movement which will be 100 per cent Canadian, and free from the dual political aspirations of the American Federation of Labor?"[9]

8. *Canadian Unionist*, Vol. 1, No. 5, October, 1927.
9. *Ibid.*, June, 1927, p. 13.

The All-Canadian Congress does not attempt the arduous task of describing the content of Canadian nationalism, which it accepts as one of the facts of the situation, but it does attempt to establish in the public mind an association between the American Federation of Labor and the imperialistic ambitions of the United States. "The American Federation of Labor, appendage of the Washington government," says an article in the *Canadian Unionist*, "has assumed the task of subjugating the Canadian working class. . . . Its propaganda, directed at the great mass of Canadian workers and at those who can influence the working-class vote—essential for this imperialistic purpose—is definitely annexationist in character."[10]

The editor wrote in 1928:

For more than a year the *Canadian Unionist* has been calling attention to the apparent connection between the policy of the United States labor organizations and the imperialism of the United States government.

It is obvious to everybody that the investment of United States money in Canadian enterprises has reached enormous proportions. . . . And while the national wealth is being exploited for the benefit of foreigners, by the sanction of a decadent economic system, foreign agencies are at work, as we have pointed out, to undermine the confidence of Canadians in their national institutions and to create an atmosphere favorable to political absorption by the United States. . . .

There must be fully a couple of hundred organizations, having their home in the United States, that trade under the unregistered trademark "international" for the purpose of bringing Canadians into the ranks of their contributors and supporters of their aims. Of these two hundred the majority are labor unions. . . . The social "uplift" organizations, such as the Rotary, Kiwanis, Lions and other Clubs, do a certain amount of noisy charitable work and salve the capitalist conscience, while at the same time mustering a bourgeois membership that may constitute the advance guard of the white battalions. . . .

For all the pretensions of local autonomy made by the Canadian branches [of the American Federation of Labor], the fact is that they are subject to the mandates of the governing body in the States. . . . They are not groupings of independent national bodies holding common aims; they are imperialist extensions of United States national organizations. . . .

10. *Ibid.*, April, 1929.

It is time for the people of this country to demand that public or semi-public associations shall respect the boundary and that fraternity shall not be used as a screen for anti-nationalism.[11]

The American Federation of Labor is, according to the organ of the All-Canadian Congress of Labor, merely an agency of propaganda which, together with such agencies as moving pictures, magazines, the radio and phonograph records, is serving to break down the separate cultural life of Canada and to instil into Canadians the notions and beliefs current in the United States.

The thought occurs: How far do the ramifications of this pernicious propaganda system extend? . . . Apart from the domestic affairs of that nation there is strong reason to suspect that a systematic attempt is being made to impose Yankee culture on Canada. We absolve the ordinary news services from deliberate participation in this conspiracy—their interest is transparently pecuniary—but many of the agencies of Capital and to an equal extent the agencies of pseudo-labor are engaged in a campaign of peaceful penetration in Canada. It is on the latter that the workers should keep an eye. . . .

To what extent the American Federation of Labor can be regarded as a Labor organization in the United States is very questionable, but in its activities in Canada it resembles the commercial corporations which establish branches in this country—not to benefit but to levy toll on the Canadian people—and it is imbued with the imperialistic spirit of the Monroe Doctrine part of its policy. . . .

Much of the braggadocio of the Yankee selling methods may be more inadvertently than intentionally propaganda for Uncle Sam the Superman, but its tendency in the aggregate is to bolster up the American hegemony. Our moving pictures, our radio concerts, and our phonograph records are mainly of Yankee origin; the unthinking purchaser, inhaling their aroma for a long period, is apt to find himself exhaling it eventually. But in addition to this unconscious or semi-conscious propaganda, and behind it, are powerful agencies for the deliberate furtherance of the great American idea.[12]

In an earlier number of the same paper an attack had been made on aspects of American life repugnant to the ideals of Labor:

Much is heard in Canada of the superior "Kultur" of our neighbors to the

11. *Ibid.*, August, 1928, p. 24.
12. *Ibid.*, June, 1928.

south, and many Canadian workers look with admiring eyes at the land where most murderers go unhanged, where foreign-born holders of unpopular political views may remain for seven years under sentence of extinction, where prohibition is the rule and where bootlegging has been the practice ever since the Fathers of the Constitution started it [sic], where child labor laws will not hold water and where negroes may not vote. The "land of the free and the home of the brave" stands so high in the estimation of some Canadians that they look to it for moral guidance in their own affairs and even seek to model their unions after those which have been found so efficient (for some purposes) in the United States.[13]

Especially before the Great War, the Canadian Manufacturers' Association strongly attacked the affiliation of Canadian labor with the American union organization. Their connection with the American Federation of Labor was the vulnerable point of most of the Canadian unions. A patriotic appeal was used by employers in Canada, as it has been used in other countries, as a weapon against international labor unions.

It is to be regretted [said the President of the Manufacturers' Association in 1903] that Canadian labor unions are so completely allied with, and so largely under the control of, central organizations having their headquarters in the United States. This should not be. We have just as much brains and ability for leadership among Canadian workmen as among the workmen of the great Republic. Moreover, this affiliation is a strong weapon in the hands of the manufacturers of that country. Instances are not rare where, through this affiliation, Canadian industries have suffered to the advantage of employers and workingmen of the United States.[14]

In the following year the new President took up the same complaint.

In Canada today the great majority of the labor organizations are international, and owing to the great preponderance of membership in the United States, the management and control lies in the hands of aliens, whose interests are, to say the least, not the same as ours; in fact, the interests of Canadian labor are commercially competitive with the interests of labor outside of Canada. Under present conditions Canadian interests are liable to be damaged, and the good feeling which should exist between employer and employee endangered by differences arising in the United

13. *Ibid.*, July, 1927, p. 23.
14. *Industrial Canada,* October, 1903, p. 111.

States, with respect to which Canadians have no interest whatever. Then again we are exposed to misunderstandings having their origin in advice given by officers of such associations, residents of the United States, who probably neither know nor care much what the ultimate effect will be in Canada. We all know, too, that large sums of money are being constantly remitted from Canada to the United States to support organizations domiciled there. Personally I cannot see any good reason for this.[15]

When the Longshoremen's strike took place in Montreal in 1903 the Board of Trade of that city declared it to be, "due to the intervention of foreign professional agitators whose aims are antagonistic to the best interests of city and country."[16] The strike of the machine workers of the Canadian Pacific Railway in 1908 also brought forward the charge that American agitators were responsible.

Self-reliance and independence are the most admirable characteristics of real manhood, and neither of these is possessed by the union man in Canada. He is merely a puppet at the beck and call of an alien organization. When the order goes forth for him to lay down his tools he whines for support of a foreign body, assuming an attitude of dependence which renders him utterly despicable. So long as this international unionism continues, there will be needless trouble in this country. The Canadian men, without knowing it, allow themselves to be used. Whether or not they are being used in this instance we do not venture to say, but the peculiar circumstances of the case have, to say the least, a very suspicious look. . . . In this instance it would not surprise us to learn . . . that the real cause of the strike on the Canadian Pacific Railway could be traced back to Wall Street. It would not be the first time that American labor leaders had feathered their own nests by such methods. (*Industrial Canada*, September, 1908, p. 90.)

Comment of the same character was made in the case of the coal strike in Nova Scotia in 1909.

The United Mine Workers, then, in thrusting itself into Nova Scotia, did not do so with the idea of bettering the condition of the Nova Scotia miners, which was admittedly satisfactory, but of strengthening the position of its members in Pennsylvania by getting control of the output of Canadian mines. . . . The present struggle is practically to decide—

15. *Ibid.*, October, 1904, p. 128.
16. *Canadian Annual Review*, 1903, p. 556.

which shall go and which survive. . . . The sympathy of Canadians generally is with the organization which confines its operations to Canada, is governed by Canadian officers and has all its interests centered here.[17]

And again in the case of the coal riots on Vancouver Island in 1913 the same paper wrote:

There seems to be more than the question of international unionism involved in the Vancouver Island coal riots. It is stated on good authority that the owners of the mines in the State of Washington have helped to bring about the strike in order to secure the British Columbia market. . . . Canadian industry is in peril if foreign competitors, through an unholy alliance with trade union leaders, can induce Canadian members of international unions to stop work at their pleasure.[18]

The campaign against the international unions was naturally backed by a section of the press. In 1921 the Montreal *Gazette* (October 5) wrote, "Production in Canada is being hampered and restricted at this moment, and has been ever since the close of the war—not to go farther back—by the impossible demands of organized labor directed from centers in the United States." When the American Federation of Musicians, in 1921, refused permission to Mr. Coulrick, from England, to conduct an orchestra in Canada, an excellent opportunity for comment was offered:

From the Canadian standpoint the position is a humiliating one. In the present instance an artist resident in one part of the Empire is being barred from employment in another part under the rules of an organization controlled in the United States. . . . The public are obtaining, through the medium of such incidents as this, a better appreciation of what is meant by international unionism, which is American unionism, and are being enlightened as to its effect upon Canadian interests. (The *Gazette*, Montreal, September 27, 1921, p. 10.)

The leader of the St. Hilda's British Band made a similar complaint in 1931, "Even here in Canada, the Musicians' Union is controlled from the United States headquarters. We cannot enter a theater in Toronto to fulfil an engagement without encountering opposition. It is a crime that British subjects may not present

17. *Ibid.*, August, 1909, pp. 23–24.
18. *Ibid.*, October, 1913, p. 296.

a performance in a British Dominion without interference from a foreign body." (The Montreal *Daily Star*, September 4, 1931, p. 2.)

VIII. *The Importance of Anti-Americanism in Canadian National Feeling.* (By S. Delbert Clark.)

It is unusual to find so clear a case of conflict between two agencies which compete for the performance of the same function, one of which is dependent on the strength of Canadian national feeling, while its rival derives its influence from the close economic association of Canada and the United States. But basically all Canadian and Imperial societies face somewhat the same competition in their struggle for membership and are therefore closely dependent for their very existence on the vitality of Canadian national life. And the national life in turn is largely the outcome of the successful functioning of these institutions. Thus Canadian national life can almost be said to take its rise in the negative will to resist absorption in the American Republic. It is largely about the United States as an object that the consciousness of Canadian national unity has grown up. And yet the cultural life of English-speaking Canada is strikingly similar to that of the United States. The sense of identity must find its basis in differences between the two countries and there is therefore a temptation to make the most of such differences as exist. The preponderance of settlers from the British Isles, a large French-Canadian population, and the more rural character of Canadian life combine to give a certain individuality to Canadian culture, but hardly a greater individuality than regional communities within a single nation may possess. The will to be a separate nation and not a separate region or set of regions is not the result of differences of race, culture, language or religion. Its basis lies in political loyalties, and its strength as we have seen in the vested interests, material and moral, which have grown up about it. But it has a second source of strength. Everything which is considered undesirable in American life can be attributed to the national characteristics of Americans, and any similar developments in Canada to the corrupting influence of the United States. There is not necessarily anything deliberately propagandist in this way of looking at the United States. We shall

find many examples of criticism of this character whose naïve spontaneity, while it makes them comic, guarantees their sincerity. There is something a little more artificial, but not very criticizable, in using what one believes to be facts as arguments in issues in which one's interest is involved. Finally there is the relatively rare attempt to foment ill will by deliberate propaganda.

A few examples will illustrate the progression. In protesting against divorce among Catholics being granted by Act of Parliament, the Honorable Mr. Lemieux said, "we want no conditions such as exist in the United States, where they get divorces while they wait." (The Montreal *Gazette*, September 26, 1921, p. 8.) The General Council of the United Church of Canada was "exhorted to protect Canadian marriage from the disintegration said to be affecting the institution in the United States." (Montreal *Daily Star*, October 6, 1932, p. 15.) These sentiments might have been expressed in one American State, with reference to another. It is not quite the same thing when the leading women of Montreal, organizing a Women's Branch of the Anti-Reciprocity League, forwarded a petition to the Canadian Government "saying that reciprocity means annexation, injury to home life and the marriage tie, a lessening of national religion, morals and patriotism."[19] Or when a candidate in the same election makes capital of the wild assertion that "one death in every sixty-five in the United States is either a murder or a suicide." (The *Gazette*, Montreal, September 20, 1911, p. 6.)

IX. *The Positive Content of Canadian National Life.* (By S. Delbert Clark.)

But if these arguments were met by sweeping admissions that Canadians die in their beds (or on the battlefield) and that Canadian divorces, like the British, are decorously preceded by *bona fide* adulteries, the task of establishing a positive picture of Canadian national life would remain. Wherein, one might ask, does its distinctive virtue exist? In what way is the world the richer because of it? What would be lost if it perished from the earth?

If we insist, as we may reasonably do, that national ideals should have a positive content, we are met with a conception of

19. *Canadian Annual Review*, 1911, p. 255.

the Canadian people as a distinct entity. This picture may be as inaccurate or uncritical as that which is formed of the United States, but it differs from the latter in being designed to attract and not to repel. "The boundary between the United States and Canada," we are told, "is a reality. Though half its length originally was an arbitrary division of territory, each year lays increasing emphasis on the fact that two peoples, inherently different, live on either side of it."[20] The frequent appeals of writers and public speakers to the courage and patience, the virtues of the Canadian people, take for granted that these high traits are, by the mysterious workings of Providence, especially characteristic of the citizens of the British Dominion! "Deep in our hearts, though perhaps seldom discussed," said the President of the Navy League of Canada in 1931, "is that inborn sense of worth that belongs, of right, to people of British birth and heritage. It comes to us without our volition—but by its value imposes on our will the responsibility of carrying on in the same spirit."[21]

If Uncle Sam is pictured as a sophisticated urban dweller, with dress suit, silk hat and white gloves, Jack Canuck appears as a farmer with work overalls, western hat and horsehide gloves. Constantly in the course of this study we shall come across the idea that Canadian life is simpler, more honest, more moral and more religious than life in the United States, that it lies closer to the rural virtues and has achieved urbanization without giving the same scope to corrupting influences which has been afforded them in the United States. The sincerity of this ideal is almost beyond question, but the wisdom of making it a basis for nationalistic propaganda is dubious. For it is essentially dull, and congenial as it may be to those who would in any case be reliable citizens, it is apt to repel the youth of the country. Nor is it the best of atmospheres for art and letters. And yet, in these directions, too, Canadians are ambitious. Their achievement, in the face of obvious handicaps, will be recorded in a separate study.[22] Perhaps all that it is necessary to mention here is the naïve and at times rather

20. W. A. Deacon, *My Vision of Canada* (Toronto, 1933).

21. *Keeping Watch*, Annual Address by Sam Harris, President of the Navy League of Canada, Winnipeg Convention, 1931.

22. This study is still under preparation.

pathetic yearning for the production by Canadians of books which would (a) be recognized throughout the world as first-class literature; (b) be widely read in Canada; (c) excite the pride and loyalty of Canadians; (d) be suitable for literary training in the schools; (e) present a picture of Canadian life congenial to Canadians of frugal habits and austere virtues; (f) make Canada favorably known throughout the world and if possible attract tourists to the country by an alluring description of its scenic beauties; attract investors by a judicious allusion to its natural wealth; and if possible create markets for its products by some subtler type of literary skill. This variant of the view that vital art should have a propagandist value has its counterpart in other countries. It may be a normal stage in the growth of national consciousness. But it is not in itself a symptom of the vitality or viability of national life.

X. *Conflict of Canadian and British Loyalties.* (By S. Delbert Clark.)

The conception of a Canadian people and the visions of a Canadian literature are elements in Canadian national consciousness which are not intimately related to a British background. It remains for us to examine the circumstances under which the sentimental alliance between Canadian and British loyalties is disrupted. In the sphere of economic nationalism, we found that while the United States was the primary enemy, there was latent and sometimes open hostility between Canadian and imperial interests. It is inevitable that some of this hostility should pass over into the sphere of sentiment. The Canadian manufacturer may seek protection against the British manufacturer, the Canadian laborer against British immigration, the Canadian white-collared worker or professional man against the competition of new comers from Great Britain. "Canada for the Canadians" may be an anti-imperial slogan. The Native Sons of Canada is a society which arose to protect its members, and white Canadians generally, against the competition of other Canadians who had not been born in Canada, or who if born there were of Asiatic race.

These basically economic appeals derived strength from political developments for they could be identified under the name of Canadian nationalism with the movement for complete autonomy

which culminated in the Statute of Westminster in 1931. With this legislation, for which nationalist associations claimed much of the credit, the movement for autonomy may be said to have entered on a defensive stage, for any further changes would amount to political separation. There is a tendency to develop a separatist movement and the catechism of the Native Sons of Canada insists that Canada is not part of the British Empire and that Canada may be neutral when Great Britain is at war; but there is no immediate economic interest at stake, and the dominant tendency in Eastern Canada at any rate seems to be for the organization to become anti-Semitic.

Such distrust of the imperial connection as remains probably finds its driving force as much in internationalism as in Canadian nationalism. It is primarily concerned with the risk which Canada may run of finding herself involved in a war in which she has no interest, or with the possibility of Canada being led to give tacit support to policies of Britain designed to protect interests with which Canada is not concerned, perhaps interests which Canadians dislike. The expression of this distrust is confined in the main to intellectuals, who enjoy no more influence in Canada than in other countries. They are held in check politically by two considerations: the dislike of all politicians for facing remote or contingent issues; and the obvious danger of a threat to Canadian national unity which lies in provoking a struggle with the strong mass of imperial sentiment which still exists.

The attitude of Canadian writers towards the United States will be examined in Chapter XV. And it would be beyond the purpose of this study to analyze further their attitude towards the British Empire, complicated as it of necessity is by Canada's membership in the League, and by the wish of some intellectuals that Canada should be able to influence British policy while disclaiming all responsibility for it.

XI. *Conclusions.*

With this survey of the sentimental forces which underlie Canadian national life and contribute to the formation of Canadian opinion, we come to the end of our examination of the formation of opinion. In this chapter, as in the one which preceded it, we

have had to digress widely from the primary topic of opinions about the United States. In both cases we have, however, uncovered a number of tendencies which lead to anti-American utterances and sustain anti-American feeling. For, just as the United States appeared economically as the greatest enemy of Canadian national integrity, so the encroachments of American culture appear as a menace to Canada's will to lead a separate national existence. At all costs a sense of Canadian superiority must be maintained. And in endeavoring to maintain a sense of superiority it is a great help to be able to count British virtues as well as Canadian. Even an advanced labor movement is constrained to form an alliance with nationalist feeling in face of a common enemy. Internal jealousies may cause difficulties for the allies. They may drive a wedge between Canadian and British loyalties, or labor may conceive of itself as in conflict with other classes of society. But in the main the alliances hold and the United States is relegated to the position of a bogey or dummy enemy—a rôle analogous in the economic and social sphere to that which Great Britain has frequently occupied in the political sphere. For young and growing communities find it easier to concentrate their energies if they do so with an adversary in view; though under healthy conditions this adversary is rather more like an opponent in sport than an opponent in war, and struggle is not inconsistent with respect and friendship.

PART III

THE EVIDENCE OF OPINIONS AND ATTITUDES

CHAPTER XI

THE PRESS IN THE MARITIME PROVINCES AND IN MONTREAL

I. *Introduction.*

The first part of this book has been devoted to the examination of the influences which might be expected to affect the formation of opinion and attitudes. These influences are, of course, not independent of one another. Not only may the opinions and attitudes of the same individual be affected by each one of them in turn, but each influence is itself the product of a social environment in which all the influences play their part. Our next task is to see what evidence can be discovered of the result of all these influences taken together. We want to find out what people do think and feel, whether their thoughts and emotions are those which we should have expected to result from the conditions to which they have been exposed or not. We have already had a good deal of evidence on this point, for it is impossible to study influences as we have done without seeing something of the results which they are producing, learning something of the results which they are believed to be producing, and considering the opposition which their operation has aroused. So, too, in this part we shall still see influences at work. But the emphasis has altered and the primary object of our search is evidence. We shall begin, in this and the immediately succeeding chapters, by three studies of the views expressed in the Canadian press, one in the Maritime Provinces from 1911 to 1929 and English-speaking Quebec from 1920 to 1929, one in Toronto from 1920 to 1934, and one in Winnipeg from 1931 to 1934. The purpose is to follow the general trend of opinion rather than to consider, as we did in Chapter VIII, the influence of the press when some major public issue is under discussion. It may be objected that the attitudes shown by the press are the attitudes for which there is a popular demand and that the public at large may like to be mildly shocked by the audacity of an enterprising press or may prefer its press to be more conventional than it is in itself, so that it may believe that a good influence is being exercised

on the masses. The extracts which will be given are themselves the best answer to this objection which points to a theoretical rather than a practical possibility. The quotations ring true. Here and there an article may be open to suspicion, but not even a journalist could deliberately fabricate their general trend.

II. *Tendencies in the Press in the Maritime Provinces, 1911–1934.* (By H. L. Stewart.)

The stand taken by the daily newspapers of the Maritime Provinces in the course of the Reciprocity debates in 1911 has been already examined (pp. 182–185). The present chapter will continue the survey of the press of the Maritime Provinces from that point.

The chief magazine reflecting business life in the Maritime Provinces is the *Maritime Merchant*, which in 1911 supported the Reciprocity scheme with enthusiasm, declared its opponents to be without one valid argument, and strongly deprecated the appeal against it on grounds of national prejudice or ancient grudge. Readers were constantly reminded that the natural market for the producer of Eastern Canada was in the New England States, that the prosperity of their great neighbor was no obstacle to their own but rather its pre-condition, and that thus motives both of good will and of self-interest should prompt acceptance of the American offer. But many things have happened in the business world since 1911 and this organ expresses faithfully the mood of its readers.

A change quickly came over the tone of the *Maritime Merchant* towards the United States. It became continuously and often contemptuously critical. The economic nationalism shown especially in the Hawley-Smoot tariff has led this old friend of President Taft's proposal to declare more than once that it suspects Canada's decision in 1911 was the right one after all. For who could rely on a government such as that of the United States had since then shown itself to be. What, asks the *Merchant* (March 16, 1934), would have been Canada's position if Reciprocity, tried for a while, had been suddenly cancelled at Washington's caprice? It became the constant drift of this paper's comments on American policy that no motive, except that of national self-seeking, ever actuates it, that "a dose of their own medicine" is the thing to

bring American financial diplomatists to their senses, and that the one hope of their improvement lies in discovering how their intense nationalism does not pay.[1]

This reversal of tone in the *Maritime Merchant* is very marked, and very typical of the temper of Eastern Canadian business men. Not less significant was the very brief, but—while it lasted—quite eager return to the mood of good will when President Roosevelt's election brought some hope of more advantageous tariff arrangements. As late, for example, as August 4, 1932, the *Merchant* had satirized the folly of Washington's assumption that the War Debts may be recovered in full although the creditor continues to impoverish his debtor by erecting barriers against trade, and again of forgetting how important it is to maintain purchasing power in a potential customer. Next month it had advised the United States to send a Commission to Great Britain for discovery of British methods, obviously so much more successful than the American in public finance, with caustic reference to the "decadent" Old Country, which had muddled through to an economic improvement fit to be envied by the one describing itself as the greatest and richest on the globe. A particularly mordant passage[2] had dwelt on the narrow provincialism of United States policy, as shown by the veto placed by the Education authorities in the State of Washington upon a proposed prize contest among children writing essays on the League of Nations. "We are suffering," exclaims the article, "because of the insularity of most Americans, which had to be broken before the United States would enter the World War. If they had entered sooner, it would have ended sooner, and there would have been less of that burden which makes the present Depression so serious." But with the advent of Mr. Roosevelt to the White House, this mood was conspicuously modified. The *Merchant* began to set in sharp contrast the new President's liberal outlook with the myopic vision of his predecessor, and the caustic language which had been habitual in its editorials was dropped in an obvious desire to be as gracious and as coöperative as possible. Mr. Roosevelt's work was hailed as inspiring, as calling forth the admiration especially of the people of the Maritime

1. *Maritime Merchant*, March 11, 1933.
2. *Ibid.*, September 3, 1931.

Provinces, as showing first and foremost that the United States will no longer be "insular and detached," "hugging the delusion that they can sell without buying in return." The *Merchant* observes with joy that there is now an American President who understands the futility of economic nationalism.[3]

But quickly the hope of lowered tariff for Eastern Canadian products was dimmed,[4] and the New Deal was subjected to systematic arraignment, with much ridicule for its plan to raise prices without providing the purchaser with more money, its depreciation of the consumer's dollar for those whose wages remained the same, and its industrial codes forcing firms to incur immediately great expense with no more than a distant and visionary prospect of increased sales.[5] So there is a resumption of the old familiar sarcasm that has so often been expended in the columns of the *Merchant* upon America's boastfulness and greed, upon the insularity of her outlook, upon her querulousness about debts which she herself deprived her debtors of the means to pay, upon her insolvent banks, upon the speed and noise which she mistakes for efficiency, upon the unexampled vastness on which she seems constantly to plume herself, not least conspicuous just now in her budget deficits or her unpunished crimes. Thus everywhere it is the tariff which determines Canadian-American feeling in the *Merchant's* constituency. A paragraph from the issue of September 13, 1934, may stand as an example. The complaint is that the potato growers of the Maritime Provinces have lost business in Cuba, owing to a trade bargain concluded by Washington with the authorities in Havana. No reason is alleged why it was wrong for the American Government thus to promote the interests of its own people, but there is an under-current of irritation:

> Since President Roosevelt began to talk about the desirability of closer trade relations with other countries, and especially since Congress gave him a fairly free hand to negotiate treaties to this end, the hope has been expressed that Canada might derive some benefit from a lowering of duties and a larger market for certain Canadian products. Curiously enough, the activities of the President thus far have had the very opposite

3. *See* especially articles published during April, May, June and August, 1933.
4. *Ibid.*, November 9, 1933.
5. *Ibid.*, December 7, 1933.

effect. He has made a trade arrangement which strikes a blow at the potato trade which the Maritimes have spent much effort in building up. . . . The story of Canada's tariff relations with the United States is not a cheerful one. . . . So far as hopes of enlarged trade are concerned, the United States still appears to be a broken reed to lean on. This seems to be especially true in the case of the Maritimes.

Representing another side of Maritime opinion during the exciting years between 1911 and 1921 was the *Presbyterian Witness*, a paper which, as its name suggests, was the organ of a religious denomination, but which constantly discussed international relations, and was acknowledged to reflect very accurately the feelings of the largest Protestant Church in Eastern Canada. The *Witness* disavowed all responsibility for judging the economic issue in 1911; that, it said, was a technical matter, for experts.[6] But it was moved to protest very strongly against the Conservative campaign to stir up bitter feeling towards the American people, and it ridiculed the idea that reciprocity in trade on this continent would mean any weakening of Canada's attachment to Great Britain.[7] Sensible Canadians had too much sense of humor, and too much experience of the ways of politicians, to regard seriously the remarks of Mr. Champ Clark and Senator Bennet about a first step towards "taking Canada into the Union"[8]: here was a piece of facetiousness, comparable to that of Mr. Taft himself about annexing the *aurora borealis*, and the American *New Outlook* had said all the occasion called for when it described such utterances as rather silly, in international bad taste, but sure to be appraised at their negligible value by Canadian readers. "There is nothing in the bogey of the loyalty peril."[9] Annexation talk was a mere transparent pretence of Canadian Conservative politicians.[10]

For a paper which began by refusing to take a side in the Reciprocity debate, such comments as those cited above seem surprisingly definite. All through those months of 1911 the *Presbyterian Witness* condemned the method of anti-American

6. *Presbyterian Witness*, February 18, 1911.
7. *Ibid.*, July 29, 1911.
8. *Ibid.*, March 4, 1911.
9. *Ibid.*, February 18, 1911.
10. *Ibid.*, March 13, 1911.

propaganda which was being used either directly or by implication on every Conservative platform. It dwelt upon the folly and wickedness of citing some flamboyant phrase of a party leader to create bad feeling between two great peoples, and upon the essential friendliness of Canada's southern neighbor against whom groundless suspicions were being propagated. This strikingly pro-American attitude was characteristic of the *Witness* in other references. It was quick to call attention to advances made by the United States in social reform, drawing a moral, for instance, for Canada, from Judge Blair's execution of summary justice upon traffickers in votes in Adams County, Ohio.[11] It exulted (whether discerningly or undiscerningly, at least very cordially) in the great experiment of Prohibition,[12] held up to Canadian leaders the pattern set by America in concern for the preservation of her forests,[13] took every opportunity of favorable reference to the great qualities of American Presidents,[14] and even managed from time to time to find special cause for compliment to the United States on fearless and effective war against criminals.[15] Such was the persevering effort of the *Witness*, constantly smoothing international asperities, explaining away provocative acts on either side, sometimes as the work of a reckless individual, sometimes as a piece of political party manœuvering, in neither case representative, but rather ridiculous to intelligent onlookers whom it was meant to impress. There is an occasional exception—where a paper of intense British loyalty had to refer in the years just after the war to publications by Mr. William Randolph Hearst,[16] and again where an organ of the Canadian Presbyterian Church had to comment on the statistics and particulars of divorce in the United States.[17] But the general drift is unmistakable, thoroughly different from that of organs of the same period in Upper Canada. There has been no more characteristically Maritime product in journalism than the *Presbyterian*

11. *Ibid.*, January 21, 1920.
12. *Ibid.*, January 24, 1920.
13. *Ibid.*, February 7, 1920.
14. *Ibid.*, November 6, 1920. Cf. November 6, 1918, and January 11, 1919.
15. *Ibid.*, April 17, 1920.
16. *Ibid.*, March 27, 1920.
17. *Ibid.*, October 9, 1920.

Witness. In its steady promotion of Canadian-American good will, reflecting constantly the moods of its rural readers, and offending only from time to time a group in the business life of the cities, it may be taken to disclose the average and habitual temper of the wide constituency which supported it.

In the years since 1911 the Halifax *Chronicle* and the Halifax *Herald* have maintained, on the whole, the even temper they respectively exhibited when Reciprocity was a living issue. (*See* pp. 182–185.) The former, a low tariff organ, regretting that an unwise choice by Canada had driven the United States to an economic nationalism dangerous for everyone, has always been on the watch for a chance to reopen the debate. The latter, a propagandist for high tariffs, not only as a negotiating instrument, but as a fixed policy, has supported and urged even higher protectionist duties to build up home manufacture. So the tone of both papers towards the United States has been friendly: the *Chronicle* has gently admonished a neighbor from time to time for faults, while insisting that the fundamental will was good; the *Herald*, in the spirit of a victor, who has circumvented an economic plot, desires to forget the heat of the conflict, while on guard lest it should recur again, and indeed it recommends to its readers the American tactics as worthy rather of imitation than of reproach.

There is thus but little asperity in the mood of these papers, and—we may presume—in that of their readers. From time to time the *Chronicle* would comment on the scandal of an elective judiciary (December 15, 1933), on the distraceful immunity of racketeers (July 15, 1933), on the use of "third degree" methods in the detection of crime (June 16, 1932), on the shocking defense of lynch law by the Governor of California (November 9, 1933), or on the appalling insecurity of American banks (June 28, 1933. Cf. March 16, 1933). Every now and then, a sharp word of rebuke is ventured to the nation which has declined so far from its high purpose of reciprocity as to pass to the extreme of economic nationalism (July 25, 1930), and on the short-sighted obstinacy which persists in expecting to recover payment of war debts while excluding the debtor from the foreign trade by which alone he could get money to pay (December 8, 1932). But these are the remonstrances of a friend. They alternate with spirited defense of the United

States against those who attack her cessation of payment in gold on her war loan (May 29, 1933), cordial admiration for President Roosevelt's effort to establish the commodity dollar (June 9, 1933), emphasis on the example Washington has of late set to Ottawa in cutting down useless expenditure (March 16, 1933), in protecting the investor against doubtful securities (March 30, 1933), and with effecting within so short a time so notable a restoration of confidence (June 27, 1933). Regarding recent criticism, for example, upon Canadian-American negotiations about the fisheries and the renewal of the *modus vivendi* (February 21, 1933), one is at loss to judge how far, in a party organ, the desire to vindicate or to censure the home authorities has affected the references to another country.

Similar comment may be made on the present attitude of the Halifax *Herald.* Its articles and references to the United States during the war years, at least subsequent to March, 1917, have necessarily the spirit of martial comradeship. But in the years following the peace, the period of difficult industrial reconstruction, the *Herald* returns to the mood of sharp commercial competition, calling upon its readers to boycott American products unless and until the United States tariff against Canadian products is lowered. It commonly insists, curiously enough, that such boycotting should not affect international friendship:

> Our neighbors have raised their tariff to near prohibitive rates for the purpose of keeping the products of Canada out of their markets. They have a clear right to do that. . . . But there is another side to the matter. In effect, the United States, through their tariff, say to Canada, "Keep your products at home, we do not want them to displace our own goods in our own markets." Very good. There need be no hard feeling about the matter. Let Canada learn a lesson or two from her neighbor. Let us make up our minds that we can either get elsewhere, or do without, many things which we buy in the United States. This big-stick business, always one-sided, becomes tiresome. There are many things which we Canadians buy in the United States which we can get elsewhere, or for which we can substitute goods obtainable in the Old Country, France or some other part of the world. Let us cut out the people who handle the big stick. Let them have their markets and their goods as well. (March 3, 1923.)

The constant refrain of the *Herald* in its references to the

United States during the decade between 1920 and 1930 was to the effect that the Americans were far shrewder and more efficient in their own interest than Canadians (at least when Canadian policy is determined by a Liberal Government), that such a scandalous spectacle as the constant shipping of Canadian grain through United States ports could have no parallel in a like supineness on the part of the American department of Trade and Commerce (January 20, 1923), and that the Boston *Transcript's* delight at Canadian progress because "Canada's development affords a greater market for American manufactures" is only too well grounded in fact (March 3, 1923). "We observe that we buy in the United States many things that might be made in Canada, the making of which should build up our own towns or cities, and give much needed employment to Canadian workmen." Such emphasis on trade competition, in which Canadians are worsted because they have not developed the American "ruthlessness," and their Government is so easily imposed upon, is the characteristic note of the *Herald* during this period. It is shown even in reference to the displacement of Canadian magazine literature by magazines from the United States, and the query whether Parliament might not with advantage stimulate the product of home authors (March 12, 1923). For the imported magazines are "all tinctured with what is called 'American spirit,'" with a distinctive American flavor both in the text and the advertising. School books of American origin are subjected to sharp scrutiny in respect of their allusions to the Great War and even to their use of the word "America" (June 8, 1928). The abrupt termination by the United States of the war-time reciprocity in flour and potatoes is noted, with demand for reprisal (January 4, 1923). But throughout such discussions the *Herald* never fails to point out that it is attaching no blame to the United States Government. It is rather extolling the far-sighted wisdom of economic nationalism at Washington, and deploring the slowness of Canadians to profit by the example (March 8, 1923).

The feeling thus developed and had a great part in determining the Canadian general election of 1930, when the Conservatives carried 23 seats out of 29 in the Maritime Provinces. Their speakers and their press were tireless in urging that the time had come to

fight the Americans with their own weapons. While they habitually conceded that no one should blame the framers of the Hawley-Smoot or any other tariff for looking after the interests of their own people, there was everywhere a suggestion that in economic as in other warfare one side's gain must be another side's loss, that Canadians had been misled into an international simplicity which their craftier competitors had exploited, and that, in particular, the coal and steel industry of Cape Breton could be rescued from ruin only by those methods of tariff frightfulness for which Washington had set the precedent. It was repeated again and again, with satiric emphasis, that the Liberal premier had been *afraid* of the Americans and had warned his countrymen not to "provoke" them. Conservatives would prescribe instead a fighting policy, the method of economic conciliation having been tried too long in vain. Mr. Bennett's language at Sydney, on July 7, 1930, was made the text for vehement newspaper appeal. He said:[18]

> Yonder is the great steel industry. What has happened in the last two years? Receivership, reorganization, slackening of employment, and no present likelihood of improved conditions under the existing Government. We send a million dollars a day to the United States for iron and steel products: how many tens of thousands of American workmen are living on Canadian money?

Thus through the summer the argument proceeded. Was Canada to be an independent country?[19] Would not the mills and factories of Yarmouth, Nova Scotia, have been working full time instead of part time if they had had their fair share of the $900,000,000 exported the previous year from Canada to buy American goods and pay American workmen for producing them? (Halifax *Herald*, July 3, 1930.) Why not try a little Canadianism instead of the internationalism that was ruining the Dominion's industries? Was it tolerable that Canada's tariff should be made annually at Washington, as the wretched Liberal method of "countervailing-duties" would suggest? Let Canadians present a straight front towards the policy of the United States, exclaimed Premier Baxter of New Brunswick, and it will win more respect from their southern

18. *Canadian Annual Review*, 1929–30.
19. Mr. Bennett at Charlottetown, *Halifax Herald*, July 5, 1930.

neighbors if they are seen to stand up for their interests than if they constantly cringe and cry "Hush, hush" for fear of offending someone. (Halifax *Herald*, July 17, 1930.)

But, whatever the New Brunswick premier might advise, it is the press of his own Province which, on the whole, shows most constant anxiety to avoid offending United States sentiment. The St. John *Telegraph-Journal* is replete with American news, making one often feel that its first thought for events abroad—unlike that of the Halifax *Herald* or *Chronicle*—is not for what has happened in London but for what has happened in Washington or New York. A like comparison may be made between the smaller papers of the two Provinces; the Moncton *Transcript*, New Brunswick, devoting far more of its space and comment to United States affairs than, say, the *Western Chronicle* or the Sydney *Post-Record* in Nova Scotia. Thus, once more, geography rules. The projection of the State of Maine into what orthodox New Brunswick doctrine declares to be "by nature" Canadian territory, has served to unite perhaps more than to estrange.

A survey of the files of the St. John *Telegraph-Journal* for the first three months of 1934 will show how the Roosevelt policies absorbed much editorial attention, and how keen was the effort to distinguish criticism, at times quite pointed, of the President, from any manner of complaint against the American people. The paper dwelt on the vexed subject of American branch factories being set up in Canada, and admonished its readers that this is not a grievance but a benefit, that the fear of "Americanization" is groundless, and that such a development is in truth mutually advantageous to the two countries. (St. John *Telegraph-Journal*, January 11, 1934.) Compliment was paid to the bold venture across the border at restoring commodity prices through dollar devaluation (January 16, 1934), to the stern measures Mr. Roosevelt has taken against gangsters and racketeers (January 18, 1934), and to the effectiveness with which already (February 8, 1934) unemployment had been reduced through N.R.A. From time to time, indeed, a sharp Canadian complaint is made, particularly against that aspect of the St. Lawrence Waterways Treaty which—as the St. John *Telegraph-Journal* puts it—would "give the United States a perpetual right of way at all times and under all conditions through

the very heart of Canada." (February 3, 1934.) Occasion is taken to recall, in the old spirit of the Loyalist Province, how "every time Canada has touched the United States in any international bargain, she has had her fingers burned." But the editorial in which this occurs reads rather like an historical reminiscence, suited to the year when United Empire Loyalists of the Province were preparing to keep the hundred and fiftieth anniversary of its foundation. As contrasted with such occasional gestures respecting the now remote past, there is the constant tone of friendliness in the present. Perhaps the most severe editorial on Mr. Roosevelt is that headed "Smear America," in which the President is roundly denounced for the affront to the United States press involved in the N.R.A. newspaper code, and especially for his own language in approval of it (February 23, 1934). Placed side by side with the air-mail edict, so offensive to American aviators, this is branded by the St. John paper as an altogether indefensible slur on splendid institutions of private enterprise in his own country.

The files of the Moncton *Transcript* show even more ardent appreciation of present American policy. Mr. Roosevelt is there constantly acclaimed as an able and a courageous statesman, patient until the time for reform was ripe, and then with judicious boldness launching the project of the commodity dollar (Moncton *Transcript*, January 20, 1934). The New York mayoralty contest is welcomed as a proof that "Tammany is cracking" (January 22, 1934). N.R.A. plans are praised as all the surer of success because they were not set forth complete at a stroke, but grew with the exigencies of the movement (February 28, 1934). The President is complimented upon the enthusiasm of his people becoming fuller and clearer as they come to realize better his great qualities—the resoluteness of his attack on poverty in the midst of abundance, and the calm with which he continues to move for ever forward despite an occasional reverse (March 16, 1934). Incidentally, the *Transcript* does not fail to point out, Mr. Roosevelt has been a benefactor to Canada, for the N.R.A. by raising the price of American bituminous coal has provided a better market for the miners of Cape Breton (February 2, 1934); and if he will only proceed with his program of tariff reduction, Canada's joy will be full (March 10, 1934).

A spirit of critical good will, at once admiration of a neighbor's energy and watchfulness lest one be outmanœuvered, may be seen in the columns of the Sydney *Post-Record*. Its articles on American matters, taken over a period of five months (November 1, 1933, to March 25, 1934), when events in the United States were moving fast, show a rather surprising lack of interest in them. New items are noted—about the voting on repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment, about Mr. Roosevelt's experiments with currency, about pressure from the Middle West to get the St. Lawrence Waterways Treaty ratified, about the Pecora revelations on the scandal of the Stock Exchange. There is genial banter about the part being taken by college professors in the N.R.A., and about the electioneering skill of Mr. Roosevelt as compared with that of Mr. Al. Smith. But through these exciting months, when so many opportunities were available and were used in other papers to generalize, favorably or unfavorably, about American character, the only noticeable line of criticism in the Sydney *Post-Record* had reference to the craft of leaders scheming for votes, or the enthusiasm of local sections to get public money expended in their interest. On neither point was there any hint of a peculiar national reproach. The same paper criticizes Canadian ways in a similar, but much more mordant, fashion.

III. *The Press in Montreal.* (A Study in the Distribution of Front Page Space, based on an unpublished thesis[20] by Ruth Radler. By S. Delbert Clark.)

As the news content of the daily newspapers may serve to some extent as an indication of what the public is thinking about, a short account is given of the distribution of front-page news in two Montreal papers, the Montreal *Daily Star* and the *Gazette*.

The statistics which follow were obtained by selecting one issue of each newspaper for each month over a ten-year period, 1920 - 1929. The news found on the front page was divided into six categories:

(a) Political news, including news of current administration,

20. "American and British influences on Canadian news content, as shown by a study of two Montreal newspapers." (McGill University Thesis.)

legislation, party conventions, speeches, conferences and discussions.

(b) Miscellaneous news, including reports of celebrations and meetings, of disaster such as earthquakes, floods and fires, and of general news not falling under any other heading.

(c) Business news, including reports of organized business life, news of the markets, and financial and commercial notes.

(d) Sporting news.

(e) News of vice and crime, including accounts of the trial and punishment of criminals, news of suicides, brawls, murders, smuggling, and divorce proceedings.

(f) News of Labor unions, arbitrations, strikes, etc.

The news was further divided according to its source as British, Canadian, United States, or Foreign.

We have thus six tables to consider: one for each category of news.

I. POLITICAL NEWS

Amount of Front Space in inches, classified by Origin.

MONTREAL DAILY STAR					*GAZETTE*			
Br.	*Can.*	*U.S.*	*For.*	*Year*	*Br.*	*Can.*	*U.S.*	*For.*
238	170	116	64	1920	69	143	122	144
374	215	146	59	1921	380	436	71	49
230	132	123	40	1922	364	349	58	56
132	265	22	127	1923	218	361	95	82
246	330	19	160	1924	183	388	110	76
189	215	100	130	1925	145	500	16	64
154	277	69	115	1926	154	282	61	24
110	153	103	55	1927	132	168	100	20
220	279	132	15	1928	153	314	156	54
216	231	105	82	1929	192	273	130	73
				Totals				
2,109	2,267	935	847	of samples	1,990	3,214	909	642
	6,158			Grand Total		6,755		

This table indicates that news of British politics occupied more front-page space in the Montreal *Star* than political news from all foreign countries including the United States, and almost as much space as Canadian political news. Indeed in three years, 1920, 1921

and 1922, there was more British than Canadian political news. In the *Gazette* also there was more political news from Great Britain than from the United States and all other foreign countries combined, but Canadian political news received relatively more space than in the *Star*, so that only in the year 1922 was there more British political news than Canadian. In both papers there was more front-page space given to political news from the United States than to political news from all other foreign countries combined, and the amount of space was specially great in the year of the presidential election of 1928, which excited special interest in Canada.

II. MISCELLANEOUS NEWS

Amount of Front-Page Space in inches, classified by Origin.

MONTREAL DAILY STAR					*GAZETTE*			
Br.	*Can.*	*U.S.*	*For.*	*Year*	*Br.*	*Can.*	*U.S.*	*For.*
100	154	139	40	1920	18	97	136	50
36	167	116	33	1921	37	150	57	75
58	152	77	43	1922	90	134	135	54
103	275	100	113	1923	64	100	209	166
116	175	96	41	1924	130	170	194	174
135	191	126	59	1925	110	300	226	116
103	246	308	68	1926	148	293	362	181
171	285	163	192	1927	143	186	340	128
229	132	182	155	1928	186	228	224	181
216	196	157	57	1929	148	166	117	65
				Totals				
1,267	1,973	1,464	801	of samples	1,074	1,824	2,060	1,190
	5,505			Grand Total		6,148		

Neither paper gave quite as much front-page space to miscellaneous news as to political news, though as we shall see, both gave it more front-page space than any of the other four types of news. Both papers gave more space to United States news of this type than to British; and the *Gazette* gave more space to United States news than to Canadian, and more to other foreign news than to British. There were variations from year to year, and it is only fair to bear in mind that the British Isles enjoy a relative immunity from earthquakes, floods, famines and fires.

III. BUSINESS NEWS

Amount of Front-Page Space in inches, classified by Origin.

MONTREAL DAILY STAR					*GAZETTE*			
Br.	*Can.*	*U.S.*	*For.*	*Year*	*Br.*	*Can.*	*U.S.*	*For.*
35	85	63	6	1920	73	116	76	22
5	40	44	0	1921	29	80	31	0
5	53	40	0	1922	34	30	20	0
5	36	40	0	1923	18	92	70	0
0	40	29	0	1924	13	62	18	0
17	74	69	0	1925	12	50	7	0
16	80	94	0	1926	32	30	14	24
15	65	76	5	1927	10	65	90	20
12	42	70	0	1928	0	69	57	4
18	67	105	2	1929	5	103	88	0
				Totals				
128	582	608	13	of samples	226	697	471	70
	1,594			Grand Total		1,410		

It is obvious that in business and finance the chief interest of Montrealers lies on the North American continent. The *Star* gave more front-page space to United States news than Canadian. However, far more space was given to British business and financial news than to the same sort of news from all foreign countries (except the United States) taken together. There were naturally great variations from year to year.

IV. SPORTING NEWS

Amount of Front-Page Space in inches, classified by Origin

MONTREAL DAILY STAR					*GAZETTE*			
Br.	*Can.*	*U.S.*	*For.*	*Year*	*Br.*	*Can.*	*U.S.*	*For.*
0	30	184	0	1920	0	0	44	0
2	64	127	0	1921	10	40	5	22
8	108	73	0	1922	10	13	52	0
0	85	60	15	1923	3	30	35	10
0	56	31	0	1924	10	0	0	0
19	21	34	9	1925	0	2	10	0
3	28	23	0	1926	0	21	12	0
5	8	42	0	1927	7	28	40	0
2	17	55	0	1928	7	20	29	9
12	26	17	8	1929	6	45	20	0
				Totals				
51	443	646	32	of samples	53	199	247	41
	1,172			Grand Total		540		

Most of the front-page sporting news is American, but Canadian news is given a good second place. British sporting news is given far less prominence, but still gets more space than all foreign countries (except the United States) taken together. The American news is largely racing news and often it is merely a headline which appears on the front page.

V. NEWS OF VICE, CRIME AND DIVORCE

Amount of Front-Page Space in inches, classified by Origin

MONTREAL DAILY STAR					*GAZETTE*			
Br.	*Can.*	*U.S.*	*For.*	*Year*	*Br.*	*Can.*	*U.S.*	*For.*
18	17	76	0	1920	35	47	59	90
15	85	26	0	1921	0	58	76	8
35	98	38	20	1922	45	61	131	8
2	69	51	0	1923	6	45	83	0
20	186	100	0	1924	26	50	93	0
28	59	126	0	1925	17	13	60	15
25	38	62	34	1926	28	50	20	20
12	37	70	20	1927	16	25	60	0
16	22	55	29	1928	11	20	52	11
6	26	28	0	1929	5	16	60	0
				Totals				
177	637	632	103	of samples	181	383	694	152
	1,594			Grand Total		1,410		

Most of the news of crime and vice which reaches the front pages of the respectable newspapers which we are studying comes from the North American continent and rather more comes from Great Britain than from all foreign countries (other than the United States) combined. Foreign scandals seem on the whole much more variable in quantity than those of Canada, Great Britain and the United States. But the conspicuous fact is the difference of policy of the two papers. While the *Star* gives substantially the same amount of front-page space to American as to Canadian vice and crime, the *Gazette* gives almost twice the space to American enormities which it gives to Canadian. It will occasion us no surprise when we find, in a later chapter, that the people for whom the *Gazette* is a traditional institution are convinced of the depravity of Americans (pp. 391–397).

VI. NEWS OF LABOR DISPUTES

Amount of Front-Page Space in inches, classified by Origin

MONTREAL DAILY STAR					*GAZETTE*			
Br.	*Can.*	*U.S.*	*For.*	*Year*	*Br.*	*Can.*	*U.S.*	*For.*
44	33	3	0	1920	292	54	48	10
75	17	24	0	1921	67	60	29	0
5	28	56	0	1922	7	81	20	0
0	26	29	9	1923	5	8	99	0
4	78	2	0	1924	14	0	0	0
25	50	33	20	1925	33	82	20	0
114	29	3	10	1926	116	3	0	0
12	5	13	4	1927	68	10	6	0
15	7	25	10	1928	3	0	0	0
30	47	25	3	1929	50	20	13	7
				Totals				
324	320	211	56	of samples	655	318	235	17
	911			Grand Total		1,225		

Obviously foreign labor news is of little interest to Montrealers. For the ten-year period British labor news receives more front-page space than Canadian, but it would get slightly less space than Canadian if we were to eliminate the highly abnormal years of the coal strike and the general strike. News from the United States receives very definitely less front-page space than Canadian news.

If we add up the total of front-page space devoted to all categories of news during the ten-year period, we get the same general result for both papers. British and United States news occupies about half the front page, British slightly less and United States slightly more than a quarter. Other foreign news occupies about one-eighth of the page, and Canadian news three-eighths. But there are wide variations from year to year.

Such a study as has just been made is of necessity a very rough and ready affair. There has been no attempt to take account of the prominence given to news of any type by its place on the page, nor any attempt to look at the inside pages of the papers. Yet one or two interesting conclusions have been reached. British politics and British labor news excite, relatively speaking, a great deal of interest and receive almost exaggerated attention in comparison with similar Canadian and American news. On the other hand, there

is plenty of interest in American business and sport and in the vice and crime which abound in the Republic.

Two points require explanation: What is the reason for this distribution of interest? and what is the effect of this distribution of emphasis? The answers to these questions seem obvious enough. Economically, conditions in the United States are of immense importance and immense interest to Canadians. And everyday amusements and pastimes, scandal-mongering included, are sought in one's immediate environment. On the other hand, the interest in British politics and British labor disputes is easy to explain. Far more Canadians have at one time been directly interested in these things themselves than have been concerned with their American counterparts. The political ties of their early years, and the loyalties of the labor movement continue to excite a sentimental interest among people who have migrated to Canada. Then, too, both British politics and British strikes are more dramatic and in a way more intelligible to Canadians than American politics and labor disputes. Finally the habit of thinking of the British Cabinet as the Imperial Government was not altogether destroyed either by the ingenious phrases of Lord Balfour in 1926, or the equally ingenious legislation enacted in 1931 as the Statute of Westminster.

The effect of the emphasis given to the various categories of news is more difficult to appraise, for it no doubt acts largely by sustaining or nourishing the interest which led to its publication. British politics remain rather more intelligible than American, the British labor movement continues to be followed with a greater interest than American labor issues inspire. And both British political methods and British Labor activities acquire a certain prestige in the popular mind. Because they are better understood, they seem more reliable than American political methods and the activities of American Labor. Thus the impression of American unreliability which we have had occasion to note elsewhere (pp. 85, 197) is confirmed. On the other hand, Canadians are not allowed to lose sight either of American business or of American vice. Here, too, impressions are strengthened. Americans are believed to worship the dollar, or more precisely to crush out culture with a crudely pecuniary materialism; and to have an all

too generous tolerance of sordid vice and crime. These, too, are opinions which we shall meet again.

IV. *Conclusions.*

An important point which is established by the two studies contained in this chapter, and which will be corroborated in the two following chapters, is that the general beliefs about the United States prevalent in Canada are fixed in the popular mind, in part at least, by constant reiteration in the daily press. It is not important for our purposes whether these popular beliefs are true or false. People do believe that Americans are boastful, that American economic policy is based on a cynical disregard of obvious facts, that prohibition was a foolish experiment conducted with mediocre honesty, that crime and vice are carried to excesses in the United States. And they believe these things because the newspapers repeat them. The proverb, "La répétition est l'éloquence des pauvres," might be written, "La répétition est la logique de la presse." Repetition takes two forms. It occurs in the selection of news and in the prominence given to the news. And it is emphasized by editorial comment. The stereotype which Canadians form of the United States and of Americans is largely the product of the Canadian newspapers. It is true that the evidence of the motion pictures, of the radio, and of the American press itself, do not on the whole contradict the general impressions which we have noticed. But Canadians are often strangely blind to the fact that the people who see the pictures, or listen to the radio, or read the periodicals, know what to look for and are on the alert to discover precisely those facts which confirm the views they have been led to form.

There is a second point which may, by anticipation, be mentioned here. When we turn from the examination of daily newspapers which cater for what they believe the popular taste to be, to the more serious reviews whose prospective readers are presumably people of a higher degree of culture and intelligence, we shall come upon the most significant fact that relatively little is written about the United States, and that the tone of what is written is noticeably different from the tone of the daily press. We shall also find that the output of Canadian publicists, whether

in reviews or in books, on the subject of the political, economic and social developments in the United States, and on the subject of Canadian-American relations, is disappointing, not so much because of the prejudices displayed, as because of the extreme reticence adopted by the writers, as soon as they abandon the attempt to explain the good and wise outlook on these matters to a patient public and embark on critical discussions.

CHAPTER XII

THE PRESS IN ONTARIO, 1920-34

(By Alexander Brady.)

I. *Introduction.*

This chapter, like its predecessor, is concerned with an examination of newspapers as an indication of the opinions of their readers, whether the newspapers have helped to create the opinions or have merely conformed to the tastes of their constituency. For the purpose of a study specially directed to the examination of opinion in Ontario, two dailies were chosen out of the four published in Toronto: the *Globe* and the *Evening Telegram*. Both tended to represent specific and significant groups in the community. The *Globe* was an old-established Liberal newspaper with a distinguished history. It had long been read by those members of the middle class who in England would be regarded as the non-conformist group, and who in Ontario are associated with the United, the Presbyterian and the Baptist churches. While usually Liberal in political attachment, this group represents the conservative outlook of the middle class. The *Globe* had also been distinguished among urban papers by the relatively large number of subscribers outside Toronto. By tradition it strove to retain some circulation in rural Ontario. In the period under consideration it was conservatively managed, and showed no radical changes in policy either with respect to news, or with respect to the discussion of public questions. Its conservative management, however, did not keep it from following some of the modern journalistic tendencies; e.g., the *Globe* in the later years of the period tried to modernize the financial page and to improve the quality of the sporting news (in order in this latter case to appeal to the younger people). Its circulation within the years of the survey fluctuated between 80,000 and 100,000.[1]

Different in character is the *Evening Telegram*. It has appealed mainly to the working men of Toronto, of whom the largest

1. The *Globe* was merged with the *Mail and Empire* in the autumn of 1936 as the *Globe and Mail*.

proportion are of British extraction and Protestant in religious denomination. The *Telegram's* dominant circulation has been within the urban community. It does not pretend to represent the particular liberal principles which were so commonly extolled by the *Globe*. Its most pronounced trait has been a vigorous championship of those things which, in its opinion, will preserve the imperial connection. In this there may be no insincerity, but there is a sound business reason why the *Telegram* should pursue such a policy. As a newspaper it has developed an extensive classified advertising section. The principal consumer of this advertising in Toronto appears to be the large British immigrant population, or the population of British extraction, who will more readily buy the *Telegram* if it cultivates the imperial connection. The circulation of the *Telegram* within the period of this survey ranged between 100,000 and 143,000.

The editorial columns of the *Financial Post* were examined because this newspaper broadly represents the interests and mentality of business men, by whom it was and is mainly purchased. Its sale extended beyond Toronto, and its circulation in the period varied between 7,000 and 20,000.

Saturday Night was included as perhaps the best example of a weekly newspaper published in Toronto which has sought to discuss public questions in a manner that would appeal to the educated middle class. Its circulation extended beyond the environs of Toronto; it had, indeed, some sale outside Ontario. Its circulation, during the period, oscillated between 29,000 and 34,000.

Three farmers' papers were chosen, the *Farmer's Sun*, the *Farmer's Advocate*, and the *Canadian Countryman*. Of these the *Canadian Countryman* had the largest circulation, ranging between 36,000 and 72,000; the *Farmer's Advocate* had between 30,000 and 51,000; the *Farmer's Sun* between 19,000 and 36,000.

Perusal of the newspapers shows very forcibly how potent and ever-present is the influence of the United States upon Canadian consciousness. News of happenings in the United States appears in every issue of the daily newspapers, and editorials on important features of American life are relatively common. The normal Canadian cannot escape from being made conscious of the life

of the United States. He is made aware of it in almost every printed page of his daily newspaper.

In all the newspapers examined, the general attitude towards the United States, as most usually reflected, was one of friendliness. All the newspapers evidently considered it to be Canada's prime interest to maintain in every way amicable relations with the United States. The *Evening Telegram* stated that American good will was heartily to be desired (February 19, 1920; December 1, 1928). "There is no country in the world with whom Canadians are more sincerely desirous of preserving friendly relations than the United States. There is no country on earth with whom it is more essential for our own peace and comfort that Canadians should continue to enjoy the most harmonious intercourse" (June 4, 1921). The *Globe* also periodically expressed the same attitude, and its remarks, especially in the years immediately after the Great War, were distinctly friendly. The other papers expressed similar sentiments. Yet it not infrequently happened that a newspaper in one issue proclaimed the necessity of friendly relations with the United States, and in another advocated the imposition of retaliatory tariff duties, or some other measure, certain to menace the good relations between the two countries.

II. *Comments on American Political Institutions and the Administration of Justice.*

From some rough comparisons of the space devoted to political happenings in the United States and that devoted to like events in Great Britain, it was evident that American political news received on all occasions at least equal treatment with British.[2] The political and judicial institutions of the United States periodically received editorial consideration, and in most of the newspapers throughout the period the comment was critical. Such remarks as these from the *Globe* were characteristic: "The contrast between the two systems" [of the United States and Canada] "is a theme for every student of politics. Is there any doubt as to which is the more modern, more democratic, more rational? Constitutionally

2. This subject is to be treated in a forthcoming study on "How Canadians Get Their Foreign News," to be published under the auspices of the Canadian Institute of International Affairs.

the United States is still in the era of the ox-cart." (November 18, 1922.) "If the principle of government by the people . . . can survive all this hullabaloo" [of conventions] "with its leaders, sub-leaders, keynoters, . . . it is safe from almost anything." (June 27, 1924.) The American system of choosing judges and police commissioners by election was disapproved of. (June 13, 1927; November 27, 1930.) Administration of justice in the United States was almost always described as very imperfect. "It may almost be said that it is more dangerous to rail against the law than to break it." (February 2, 1924.) "Charlatanism disguised as science" is too common in American courts. (January 7, 1928.) Judges are too often corrupt and court procedure "theatrical." (September 13, 1926; October 14, 1930.) Police brutality, prison terror, lynching (sometimes countenanced by the authorities), lead one to believe that "the whole machinery of law seems to be in collapse." (September 4, 1926; November 3, 1929; July 19, 1932.) The activities of gangsters were commented upon as evidence of the lawless tendencies. The events in 1932 led the *Globe* to remark that "the whole world has looked with astonishment and dismay on the helplessness of the authorities. . . . If gangdom be not ruthlessly rooted out, then well may the people of the United States hang their heads in shame." (May 14, 1932.) Apathy prevailed in the United States in regard to crime (May 19, 1932), and social responsibility among the majority of the public was weak. The government of prominent American cities was criticized, especially that of Chicago, where the election of a mayor was carried on with the paraphernalia of war (April 5, 1927).

The *Evening Telegram* was similarly critical of American political institutions, and indicated that Canada was superior. Lawlessness in Canada's neighbor came in for special censure. "The 'racket' is peculiarly an American institution. . . . Starting in a small way, the 'racket' has developed until it is a nation-wide evil . . . but Canada knows the cure. Quick justice backed by long prison terms." (August 29, 1930.) On the occasion of the kidnaping of Colonel Lindbergh's baby, the inefficiency of the American police was denounced. "Stupidity and inefficiency have been linked with officious importance throughout. . . . From beginning to end the case has been a disgrace to civilization." (June 13, 1932.)

The inefficient police administration was attributed mainly to the fact "that political interests are permitted to take precedence over the control of crime." (August 29, 1933.) The *Telegram's* conception of the administration of justice in the courts could hardly be called discriminating. "Every dollar [is] a Darrow in the American courts." (August 7, 1925.) "Organized crime is today one of the biggest industries in the United States. . . . Canadians, by comparison, are living in a paradise." (April 1, 1932.) The parliamentary methods in Canada were considered superior to those of the United States. (January 24, 1930; August 21, 1931; November 9, 1932.) And the general impression left on the mind by the occasional editorials of the *Evening Telegram* was that the organization of American government was antiquated, and its operations inefficient.

Saturday Night was similarly critical regarding the political and legal institutions of the United States, especially in the years immediately after the Great War. Ironical remarks were made upon the fact that President Harding advised Canada to keep her eye upon the United States. What does Canada see?

> Democracy, as expressed in the American nation, has reached a point where its people are living under laws more oppressive than can be found in any other country on the face of the earth save Russia . . . and what has been the consequence? A wild reaction of extravagance, lawlessness and discontent. To balance these evils we have the still more deplorable spectacle of legal oppression which extends into every home, nay, into every cupboard of the United States. . . . In sheer desire to preserve good feeling in this weary world, let us cease to gaze on the fountain of so many infectious ills. (May 7, 1921.)

Conventions, "conducted on the line of both the Republican and Democratic bodies, are a fool business" (July 22, 1924). It was considered that the American administration of justice was biased in favor of the rich, and the case of Harry K. Thaw was used to illustrate the opinion (May 3, 1924). The Sacco-Vanzetti execution came in for sharp criticism as a "travesty of justice . . . almost unbelievable" (August 13, 1927).

In the *Farmer's Sun* a similar critical attitude was evident. The court methods of the United States were considered shocking (November 23, 1922). Jurisprudence "walks on more legs than a

centipede" in the United States (February 23, 1928). And on the whole Canada would do well to copy British rather than American methods and practices (July 4, 1929). The *Canadian Countryman* was also critical, the burden of its editorial comments being that Americans have much to learn from Canadians in the art of government (May 31, 1930). The *Farmer's Advocate* was virtually silent on this topic.

Notably different in its outlook upon the political institutions of the United States was the *Financial Post.* While the *Post* often found occasion to criticize individual policies of American administrations, it commented favorably upon the actual organization of government. "The United States cabinet system is superior to our antiquated copy of the British plan which has made Imperial government a big game, not a great business, and a cabinet minister a slick talker rather than a capable administrator. On the other hand, under the United States system, the President is able to select good men wherever they are found." (May 20, 1921.) "Here in Canada we are still tied to obsolete customs which limit us to the men elected to the House." (January 27, 1922.) Doubtless an explanation of the different attitude of the *Post* is that it represented the point of view of the business executive, who felt that, under the administration of Coolidge and Hoover, the opinions of business men received greater recognition than they received in Canada. Especially in the earlier part of the period covered by this survey, Canadians were urged to copy what was described as the many excellent things found in American institutions; such as city planning, zoning, government research bureaus, city managers, and business census compilation. The *Post* considered that a superior type of man more often obtained executive office in the United States than in Canada, and it cited Andrew Mellon. "He applies business judgment to running the United States treasury. . . . His philosophy of taxation is applicable to Canada." (August 28, 1925.) It praised, and recommended that Canada should adopt, what it considered to be the prevalent attitude towards public ownership in the United States; namely, an unfavorable attitude. It quoted with approval the remark of the New York *Herald-Tribune* that "The touch of government in business is death." (July 16, 1923.) But it had two marked reservations in

regard to American institutions: the state legislatures passed a ridiculously large number of laws; and the administration of justice was inferior to that in Canada (June 18, 1926; April 20, 1928).

The general conclusion is that the journals examined, and others more casually sampled, such as the *Mail and Empire* and the Toronto *Daily Star*, were critical of the political and legal institutions of the United States. The system of administering justice was invariably criticized, and most of the other aspects of American government were not favored. The somewhat different attitude of the *Financial Post* has already been explained by the fact that it tended to reflect the outlook of the business group. The dominant tendency throughout the editorials was to use phases of social and political life in the United States either as horrible examples to be avoided or as useful patterns to be followed. In the portion of American civilization with which we are concerned in this section the horrible examples appeared to Canadian editors to predominate. Notable, also, was the fairly general assumption that Canadian political institutions are distinct from, and much superior to, those of Canada's neighbor.

III. *Pastimes and the General Cultural Life of the United States and Its Influence on Canada.*

A variety of opinions upon the cultural life of the United States was found in the newspapers, and consistency even within the columns of a single newspaper was not always evident. On the subject of the American "movie" (Chapter V), for example, opinion ranged widely, without complete agreement, except perhaps in the not significant comment that the majority of movies produced in the United States were "trashy"—thus voicing a point of view which has been widely expressed, though with more discriminating qualification, by most editors in the United States. The *Globe* was critical of the principal cultural influences radiating from the United States, and true to its "non-conformist and puritanical traditions," denounced wholesale the tendencies of the American movies. "South of the border . . . there has developed of late years a deplorable epidemic of obscenity masquerading as 'art' on the stage and on the screen." (June 15, 1929.) The patterns

of American life shown in the movies were considered to be deleterious in Canadian national life. It cited as "offensive" to Canadian morals the flourishing of revolvers, lynching, and relations between the sexes (December 15, 1925). It was remarked that "it is of national and imperial importance that Canada should do everything possible to free this country from the dominance of Hollywood. It would be wiser to be on the side of too much generosity to British producers than otherwise." (August 1, 1932.) This attitude was common in other papers, although by contrast the *Evening Telegram* was not given to much censure of the American movies. The *Telegram* admitted, however, that the American movie domination was "out of all proportion to the sum of theatrical ability available in the United States." (July 21, 1928.)

No pronounced attitude was evident towards the radio broadcasts of the United States. (*See* Chapter VI.) The broadcasts were occasionally referred to in editorials, and the consensus of opinion was that good and bad programs came over the air from the United States. Sometimes the broadcasts were referred to as another Americanizing agency, but no great emphasis was laid upon this charge. Some newspapers were doubtless handicapped in making comments upon broadcasting. In the first place, they were anxious to have private enterprise in broadcasting continued because of the radio advertising to which it gave rise. Secondly, the main programs of most Canadian private broadcasting stations originated in the United States. In such cases, the private interest of newspapers influenced their reticence in expressing opinions.

American periodicals and newspapers, especially their influence in Canada, were given considerable comment. (Chapter VII.) In the years immediately after the war, the Hearst press incurred the bitter criticism of all Canadian newspapers, partly for its sensationalism, but much more for its anti-British propaganda. While irritated by the utterances of the Hearst press, the *Globe* and other papers did not treat it as being representative of responsible American opinion. The *Globe* remarked (December 30, 1921): "The wrath of Anglophobia finds a medium of expression in the Hearst papers. . . . But people who use their own brains . . . do not read Hearst papers; its patrons are the submerged."

Saturday Night observed (August 14, 1920): "No doubt the average American is just as proud of Hearst . . . as is the average Canadian."

Even apart from the Hearst publications, the methods of the American press in general were more often criticized than praised. The *Globe*, for example, commented on the greater relative accuracy of Canadian newspaper reports as compared with those in most of the newspapers of the United States (April 30, 1928). The *Evening Telegram* in different editorials criticized American newspapers. It objected to their anti-British propaganda (March 1, 1921), their misrepresentation (March 10, 1923), their boastfulness (June 10, 1924), their comic strips as suggesting crime (August 4, 1922) and the space given to crime news (January 5, 1927). An editorial on the subject (August 12, 1921) read:

> Because of their largely polyglot and not too literate population, American cities of the second grade are served by a type of periodical with which it is not desirable that this country should be inundated. . . . Their so-called "funny" pictures, eternally ringing the changes on "hootch," henpecking, and physical violence, are dedicated to a constituency which is obviously not strong on "readin' or spellin'."

In these and many similar comments there was the evident assumption that the general American press was, on the whole, much inferior to the Canadian; that, at any rate, it was not of a character to be copied. We are not here concerned with the question whether the belief was justified; of its prevalence there can be no doubt. The only journal which in the period paid any marked tribute to the press of the United States was the *Financial Post*. The *Post* commented favorably on the realistic manner in which the editors of leading American papers treated public matters. It considered them less theoretical than Canadian editors. (June 1, 1923.)

The lower-grade American magazines were strongly denounced by practically all newspapers examined in the survey. The *Globe* was specially emphatic in attacking the more or less pornographic publications. "Off-scourings of the moral sewers of human life," "undisguised filth," "putrid flood," were some of the expressions used, and the *Globe* favored the legislative exclusion of these publications or their subjection to special taxation. The *Farmer's*

Advocate was also specially critical of the flow of low-grade periodicals into Canada; it would ban "immoral" literature and tax other American periodicals. (May 15, 1927; February 9, 1928.)

Concern was occasionally expressed over the denationalizing influence on Canada of American magazines in general. The *Financial Post* expressed an attitude of alarm when it remarked: "One United States magazine that has built up a tremendous circulation by publishing inspiring stories of success has thousands of readers in Canada and yet has never published an article about a Canadian who has made good in his own country. . . . In such ways as this, the Americanization of Canadian thought, as well as of Canada's economic structure, proceeds steadily" (January 23, 1925). It must be pointed out, however, that the *Financial Post* is published by the MacLean Publishing Company, which also publishes Canadian magazines that compete with those of the United States, and that it may, therefore, be attempting to create opinion rather than merely to express views believed to be congenial to its readers. Canvassers for the magazines of the MacLean Publishing Company frequently use the argument that people should purchase these magazines in order to resist the tide of Americanization. (*See* pp. 152–172.)

Saturday Night occasionally reflected a like concern—a concern, indeed, found in all the newspapers—lest the inflow of American publications, maintained by American advertisers, should make it difficult for Canadian publications to exist. The national life of a country unable to maintain a periodical literature of its own must inevitably suffer. At one time this weekly carried on a series of discussions upon this theme. (February 6, 13, 20 and 27, 1926.)

The *Globe*, while similarly concerned over the influence of American magazines, was nevertheless confident that such influence would have no decisive effect upon Canada's national status and political destiny. A common complaint was the misrepresentation to which Canada was subjected in the publications of the United States. The *Evening Telegram* accused the popular magazines of misrepresenting Canada as a snow field (May 7, 1928). And within the period the *Globe* often felt called upon to criticize the misleading comments concerning Canada in the American press

(September 27, 1923; November 30, 1925; July 19, 1926; April 20, 1929).

Some books published in the United States also came under attack. The *Globe*, especially, was critical of what appeared to be salacious novels, and warned against "the overflow of United States filth, literary or otherwise." (June 29, 1928.) Even such writers as Sinclair Lewis and Theodore Dreiser were described as muck-rakers (March 23, 1931). By contrast, the *Evening Telegram* showed little concern over the influence of such publications upon the Canadian mind, and, indeed, for Sinclair Lewis it had some commendation. But the use of American histories in Canadian schools was generally condemned by all journals. (*See* chap. xvi.) *Saturday Night* considered that some American history texts should be made into a bonfire (June 5, 1920; December 30, 1922); the *Globe*, in 1920, believed that the history texts were greatly improved as compared with what they had been, although it still implied that they were too colored by American patriotism for use in Canadian schools (December 2, 1920); and the *Evening Telegram* pronounced that the American history texts were not wanted in Canada, as they were usually "garbled" to placate anti-British sentiment (August 19, 1927). The general attitude throughout was that Canada and the Empire should be placed in the "right" light to children in the schools and that the American texts usually failed to do this.

In the occasional editorial comments on the passing fads and fashions of American pastimes, there was perceptible a note of ridicule. The *Globe* viewed as typically American such phenomena as tree-sitting contests, flagpole sitting, dance marathons, bridge tournaments, and novelty weddings. "It was a Yankee tourist, of course, . . . who while in Paris suggested the sand-blasting of the Louvre 'to brighten her up a bit.'" (November 7, 1927.) The *Evening Telegram* likewise commented on beauty competitions, knitting contests and marathon dances as typical American stunts. (September 12, 1922; January 15, 1923; August 11, 1928.) The attitude towards organized sport in the United States was also critical, although editorials on sport appeared only when some specially provoking incidents occurred. The *Globe* complained of the excessively commercialized character of American sport and

the inferior type of ethics which prevailed in it (September 6, 1927; October 6, 1927). It readily recognized that there was a public in the United States which wanted clean sport, but failed to get it from a large number of active sportsmen. It deprecated the influence of American athletics in Canada. A similar attitude was evident in the editorials of the *Evening Telegram*, where the good sportsmanship of the British people was often contrasted with what was claimed to be the bad sportsmanship of Americans. (June 30, 1921; July 13, 1922; October 23, 1923.)

Throughout these discussions there was evident a general conviction that Canada had elements of a distinct culture worthy of preservation and menaced by the numerous influences from across the boundary. There was also the view, less frequently expressed, that this distinct life was closer to that of Great Britain than to that of the United States. The prevailing tone is illustrated in an editorial from the *Globe* (February 8, 1930):

> American magazines flood across the border and are distributed at considerably less than cost by the Canadian post office; American movies monopolize every theater; the ether is filled with almost innumerable radio programs, . . . but it must be apparent that if Canadian individualism is to be maintained no effort should be spared to build up those influences which will create so strong and essential (sic) a British-Canadian character as to be impervious to the denationalizing features of the cross-border flow.

IV. *The Foreign and Commercial Policies of the United States.*

In the period under review there were many editorial comments on the foreign and commercial policies of the United States. At the opening of the period the policies of the United States with respect to Europe and the League of Nations attracted special attention. (*See* pp. 192–198) The editors in Toronto were far from unanimous in their opinion of the action of the United States in remaining outside the League, and the cleavage in opinion is significant in revealing how far Canadians can share in political attitudes which apparently prevail at any given time in the United States. The *Globe*, from the outset, considered that the isolationist policy of the United States was unfortunate in the extreme (May 29, 1920; December 10, 1921; October 13, 1922; February 19, 1923; March 1, 1923). The *Financial Post*, on the contrary, believed that there was

much to be said in favor of the position adopted by the United States. It described as "a common sense attitude" the refusal of the United States to rush enthusiastically into arrangements with the League. Whereas the *Globe* criticized the attitude of the American government on the issue of reducing or cancelling the war debts, the *Financial Post*, at least in the early part of the period, believed that the American policy was defensible. The *Globe* viewed the treatment of war debts by the United States as short-sighted (December 7, 1922), and considered that the United States could afford to forgive the whole European debt. (October 16, 1922.) The *Financial Post*, however, even in 1929, remarked (August 15): "Many Canadians lent themselves to the cause of the European propagandists for the cancellation of war debts due to the United States. It would have been better for the creation of international good will if credit had been given to the United States for its many concessions." But after 1930 the same paper did not feel so sympathetic with the position maintained by the United States.

The *Evening Telegram*, in the beginning of the period, expressed satisfaction with the stand of the United States in regard to the League of Nations. It described the League as a source of ill will which could only cause anti-British feeling in the United States. (January 10, 1920; May 4, 1923.) It remarked in one editorial (March 6, 1920) that the people who want the United States out of the League are "the most far-sighted promoters of Anglo-Saxon good will." The United States would do well to let the League die (June 12, 1920). While the *Evening Telegram* lauded the United States for its views on the League, it criticized on other occasions the isolationist attitude of the government at Washington. The keynote of many editorials was that the greed of the United States spoilt her excursions into Europe. "The United States support is usually withdrawn when that support becomes expensive to the United States." (July 13, 1923.) American "love of money is as big an obstacle to the restoration of good will and prosperity as European love of war." (March 24, 1923.) The *Evening Telegram* was emphatic that the greed of the United States was illustrated in its treatment of war debts (March 24, 1923). It went so far as

to accuse the United States of using the Naval Disarmament Conference as a "debt-collecting agency" (January 7, 1922).

Saturday Night was less inclined to adopt a pronounced attitude, either sympathetic or hostile, towards the policies of the United States. Its editorials were generally analytical and explanatory of American policies. In so far as it revealed an attitude, it was slightly critcal of the actions of American governments and suspicious of what it called on one occasion the "cheap politicians" who attained power in the Republic. (June 5, 1920.)

The Farmer's Sun was sympathetic in most of its comments upon American policy. While it considered that the United States should have accepted the mandate for Armenia and have joined the League of Nations (June 30, 1920), yet it was ready to admit that the United States had its own good reasons for not joining and that it would aid international comity in other ways. The American war debt policy was understandable (November 15, 1928). Why should the United States cancel war debts when Europe was preparing for war as fast as she could? (June 25, 1925.) Imperialism on the part of the United States was not to be feared. (January 13, 1927.)

The *Canadian Countryman* was usually inclined to accuse the United States of selfishness in its attempted isolationist policy. The prevalent note in its editorials is evident in the remark: "By the stand Uncle Sam has taken on war debts and by his unwillingness to trade as freely as possible with other countries, he has made a pretty mess of things not only for other countries but for himself." (October 18, 1930.)

In commercial matters the tariff policy of the United States aroused great concern among Canadian editors, and, judging from the editorial comments, the tariff throughout the period was the most frequent irritant to Canadian opinion. The *Globe* was consistently critical of American tariffs. In the early 'twenties it was inclined to view the upward trend in the tariff which affected Canada as merely temporary and not the result of the mature judgment of the Republican party (March 8, 1921; April 23, 1921). But within a few years it underwent disillusionment, and increasingly concluded that no special consideration could be expected for Canada, despite the large Canadian trade with the United

States. The tariff was simply selfishness, and retaliatory measures were natural (April 23, 1923). Not that the *Globe* was ever quite a champion of retaliation, but it believed that there were excuses for it (November 30, 1928; November 19, 1929). It became convinced that Canada must seek Empire markets and adopt a "buy in Canada" program (March 9, 1932). But irritating as the tariff might be and justified as Canadians might be in resenting its character, the *Globe* was always careful to maintain that the irritation must not destroy the fundamental good will between the two countries. (November 11, 1929.)

In the *Evening Telegram*, also, the tariffs were condemned as evidence of Uncle Sam's selfishness. But, as the *Evening Telegram* supported a political party which had a high protectionist program, it frequently referred to the American tariff as a model for Canada. Anything in the nature of free trade would mean domination by the United States. (October 1, 1921.) "In trade matters as well as political affairs it is well not to expect too much altruism from Uncle Sam. The whole history of the Republic shows the folly of those Canadian statesmen who would in any way risk entrusting the commercial destiny of the country to the whims of its neighbor." (June 3, 1921.) Often the *Evening Telegram* was ready to argue that "brick for brick" (in the tariff wall) "is the only way to deal with Uncle Sam." (April 21, 1926; August 21, 1928; June 26, 1929; April 2, 1930.) Trade conferences with the United States were a waste of time until that country relaxed its selfish attitude. (June 5, 1930.)

The *Financial Post*, also a champion of protection within Canada, expressed as much dislike of American tariff policy as the other newspapers, and like the *Evening Telegram*, it considered that Canada might in some respects follow the example of the United States. Indeed, Canadian tariff policy should be guided by that of the United States (November 17, 1922; January 18, 1929). *Saturday Night* shared in the attitude of the other newspapers, and considered that American tariff increases should be met by decreased buying in the United States (December 3, 1921). The three farmers' newspapers gave considerable prominence to the subject of the tariff, and evinced a varying measure of irritation with the United States. The *Farmer's Advocate* showed the extent

of its hostility to the McNary-Haugen bill by unrestrained denunciation. It was "one of the worst examples of ignorance and buncombe ever conceived in the brains of politicians." The Canadian government, nevertheless, "seems to be quite ready and willing to allow the importance of Canada and its people to be belittled by a neighboring people" (July 10, 1924). The *Canadian Countryman*, out of eighty-eight editorials in the period on Canadian-American relations, devoted fifty-five to the tariff, and its remarks were mainly hostile to the policies of American administrations. Tariff increases on Canadian farm produce were described as creating "discord and enmity" (March 29, 1924). And it was advocated that Canada should retaliate to make "Uncle Sam understand in an unmistakable manner that his neighbor and kinsman to the north is not going to put up with his nonsense for ever" (April 12, 1924). It was not so much the height as the instability of the American tariff which caused suffering to Canadian farmers (March 29, 1924). And the *Countryman* on one occasion argued with extravagance that American foreign and commercial policy caused the depression (October 18, 1930). The *Farmer's Sun* was less sharp in its comments, and was usually more inclined to criticize the Canadian government for its failure to make trade treaties with the United States.

V. *Direct Influences of the United States on Canada through the Movement of Capital, Settlers and Tourists.*

The newspapers expressed no real fear of American economic imperialism in Canada. The nearest approximation to such a fear was some slight uneasiness at times that so large a part of Canada's imported capital should come from the United States rather than from Great Britain. This uneasiness was specially evident in the *Evening Telegram*, a paper most vigorously devoted to British connections. As it remarked in one editorial, "Canada's choice is between two kinds of imperialism—the imperialism of attachment to the British Empire and the imperialism of absorption in the American Republic. . . . Canadian nationalism has everything to fear from the imperialism of absorption in the American republic. . . . Canadian nationality must find its grave in the growth of pro-American imperialism" (December 23, 1926). The inflow of

American capital and the extension of American enterprise were considered to be features of the imperialism of the United States. Even Canada's dependence upon her neighbor for coal was described as "humiliating" and "dangerous" (February 15, 1923). Also, international labor unions were considered undesirable (April 1, 1925; November 29, 1928). In the principal spheres of economic life independence of the United States must be sought. The *Globe*, however, was not concerned over the inflow of capital from the United States (October 15, 1926). The Dominion was not made more politically dependent on the United States by this capital ownership because it had the ability to control its own national destiny (December 11, 29, 1924; January 19, 1925). But the *Globe* was always ready to recognize that a larger portion of British capital would be desirable as a means of increasing trade with Great Britain because, other things being equal, Canada should trade more with Great Britain than with other countries. Believing that American immigrants made good citizens, it would have Canada attract as many as possible (April 3, 1925). Likewise tourists from the United States were to be carefully encouraged, because they brought money into the country and made for friendly relations as well (June 30, 1925; July 6, 1926; August 27, 1928). It was sharp in criticism of those who exploited American tourists, and especially critical of the municipalities which set speed traps for them (July 19, 1929; July 23, 1931). But despite this friendly attitude, the *Globe* greatly resented the direct influence of American capitalists in Canadian political life and was strong in denunciation of it (September 28, 1929). Particularly did it resent the activity of American capitalists who tried to block the St. Lawrence development (July 24, 1920); and it attacked the efforts of those who sought to discredit the Ontario hydro system and to gain a control over hydro-electric generation in the Province (May 15, 1929).

The *Financial Post* was even more emphatic that there was nothing to fear from the "capital invasion" of the United States (February 7, 1920; June 24, 1927). But the *Financial Post*, like the other newspapers, took a deep interest in the management and control of large firms engaged in business in Canada, and was gratified when the control of these passed into Canadian hands.

At one time it was critical of the International Nickel Company because the control was exercised by those living outside the country (August 6, 1920). Throughout the period, however, it had no fear that Canadians would lose control over their major industries.

Saturday Night felt approximately as the other newspapers. It had no fear of American capital. "It is a good thing for Canada when a United States group decides to establish in Canada an industry" (December 4, 1926). Its principal concern was the labor leaders from the United States; especially those who belonged to such revolutionary organizations as the Industrial Workers of the World and even the officials of the American Federation of Labor. (*See* pp. 237–243.) It opposed these on the ground that they involved interference in Canadian affairs by men who were not Canadians and hence were unacquainted with Canadian needs and really uninterested in the tranquility of the country. Other newspapers were at times similarly critical of the international unions.

CHAPTER XIII

THE PRESS IN WINNIPEG, 1931-34

(By Mrs. R. F. McWilliams.)

I. *Introduction.*

This chapter comprises the results of an intensive study of the references to Canadian-American relations which appeared on the editorial pages of the two chief Winnipeg newspapers, the Winnipeg *Free Press* and the Winnipeg *Tribune*, during the four years, 1931 to 1934, a period of depression following the Hawley-Smoot tariffs. The *Free Press* is a paper of liberal tendencies, of which Winnipegers are justly proud. Under the distinguished direction of J. W. Dafoe it has built up a reputation throughout western Canada for honesty and independence. The *Tribune*, which is conservative in tendency, is one of the chain of Southam newspapers and has shown itself a not unworthy competitor of the *Free Press*. The audited circulation of the *Free Press* at the end of this period was 60,000, of which more than a third was outside Winnipeg, while that of the *Tribune* approached 33,500, of which nearly 10,000 was outside the city and its suburbs. Of these two papers, the *Free Press* constantly prints on its editorial page dispatches from its two Washington observers and thus, to some extent, supports the views expressed in them. These dispatches have been included in the present study. The *Tribune* only occasionally uses similar material on its editorial page.

In the case of Winnipeg the study was limited to a period of four years in order to use a larger scale than had been employed in the press studies in the other chapters. But even for this short period the available material was so extensive that only a small part has been used. Much colorless comment on the United States has been omitted and the reader must therefore be warned that the extracts presented to him may give a somewhat misleading impression of concentrated criticism. The quotations are authentic, but the Canadian newspaper readers imbibe them in diluted form. On the other hand, the editor of the volume has deliberately suppressed some of the more violent criticisms of the United

States. This suppression was made reluctantly but for reasons which seemed valid. It seemed undesirable to omit any evidence which supported the thesis that Canadian newspaper readers are steeped in hostile and ungenerous criticism of the United States; but the constant repetition in cold blood of the product of day-to-day journalism might be very unfair to the newspapers concerned and would be apt to leave a false impression on the mind of the reader of this book. The unfairness to the newspaper lies partly in the separation of quotation from context and partly in the difficulty of remembering that newspapers are not free agents. They must print the news of the day and supply the comment which the public wants. They cannot afford to display constant scepticism of the veracity of their own news services, and the statements on which they comment are not always statements which a historian would accept. By way of comment the Canadian public apparently does want some derogatory remarks about the United States, and as its palate is jaded or calloused, these must be emphatic. Thus, although it is from Canadian newspapers of the front rank that quotations have been taken, and although the less temperate comments and those based on obvious misapprehensions have, for the most part, been omitted, there is a certain danger in taking the newspapers too seriously. Their editors, on oath, might tell a different story, and their more intelligent readers might distinguish between the comments which they enjoy and those which they believe.

In all, during the four years, 1,110 editorials and dispatches were noted, of which 331 were in the *Tribune* and 779 in the *Free Press*. Thus the weekly average of articles referring to the United States exceeded five for the two papers. Of this large number not more than a dozen expressed appreciation of any event or quality in American life, and newspaper readers in Winnipeg were thus steeped in unfavorable or disparaging comments on the United States. It seems fair to assume that this constant criticism suits the popular taste and also that it tends powerfully to confirm and to perpetuate any hostile prejudices. But this mass of informative articles must also be accepted as evidence in support of the claim so frequently made that Canadians have paid more attention to the United States than Americans to Canada, and as an explanation

of the confidence which Canadians feel that they are well informed about the United States.

II. *Foreign Affairs and World Politics.*

A considerable amount of space was given to American relations with other countries, but there was not much comment upon them. Early in 1932 (February 17) the *Free Press* expressed the belief that the relationship between Canada and the United States at Geneva was creating a desirable atmosphere. The Disarmament Conference was about to open and this paper stated emphatically the Canadian belief that "United States armaments have no bearing upon our relation with that country." A hearty welcome was given to every sign of inclination to coöperate with the League or with Great Britain.

In discussing the "Manchurian Drama," the *Free Press* wrote (August 30, 1932):

> The United States came into action on August 8, when Mr. Stimson broadcast his speech that the United States would not recognize a situation brought about by means contrary to the Pact of Paris.

At the end of the year (December 6, 1932), the *Free Press* lost hope of Anglo-American coöperation:

> For the second time in four years, the conditions in the international situation have brought Great Britain and the United States face to face as the two main antagonists in the conflict which is being waged for the mastery of the world.
>
> Before the war the two rivals were Britain and Germany. Now America has inherited Germany's place, so to speak.
>
> In 1928, "The Question of Naval Limitation," Mr. Coolidge's speech, was important as revealing how antagonistic the relationships of the United States and Great Britain were becoming. Finally, with British acquiescence, the Naval issue was reconciled to meet United States ideas on the subject.
>
> This time the issue is one which is felt and understood by Americans as acutely as the issue of the navy was felt in Britain. This time the issue is money. . . . It is easy to understand the indignation with which a request to adjust the whole scheme of war debts with a view to their ultimate remission, should be received by a nation whose idea of empire is money—money stripped of the responsibilities and obligations which empire has

always hitherto implied. . . . America had her way with the ships, will Britain have hers with the debts? She must if the world's counterpoise is to be preserved.

The *Free Press* also commented (December 13, 1932) on the offers of United States corporations to the Persian government as deciding the Shah to cancel the oil concession and defy Britain.

With the beginning of the new year (January 27, 1933), the *Tribune* said, "The world can take some comfort out of the fact that a saner view of world relationships is gaining headway in the United States of late." But an editorial on the following day suggested that the grant of Philippine independence, over the President's veto, is "the work of a Congress . . . who are too busy with bogus remedies for the American farmer to care what happens to the Filipinos."

Of the "Washington Parleys" in April, the *Tribune* wrote (April 13), "This mildly sceptical view of the Washington merry-go-round is widespread and tempers Canadian enthusiasm toward Mr. Roosevelt's overtures and Mr. C. Hull's colorful expression of national repentance over the sky-high follies of the past." A few days later (April 23, 1933), on the occasion of Mr. MacDonald's visit to Washington, the same paper remarked, "Mr. MacDonald in his speech said that every citizen of the British Empire would like to say to every American citizen, 'let's get away from the folly of economic nationalism.' More than any other nation, the United States is responsible for the plague of economic nationalism throughout the world."

On May 22, the *Free Press* declared:

In outward respect the policy [expressed by Norman H. Davis] is wider than former United States policies by only a hand's breadth. It maintains, or at least tacitly recognizes, the nervous and skittish attitude which is supposed to be a domestic political necessity, since the American public has apparently been trained to expect something of the sort.

On July 21, we were told:

It may be frankly admitted that President [Roosevelt] did not shine in his handling of the World Economic Conference. . . . The American delegation at the London Conference was placed in such an unhappy position that even American papers commented upon their humiliation.

On the other hand, the *Free Press*, on December 30, gave generous credit to President Roosevelt for his reiteration of devotion to the ideals of Woodrow Wilson.

The appearance of the President of the United States as the defender of the League of Nations, at a time when it is sorely in need of friends, is an international event of the first magnitude. For domestic political reasons he was bound to say that the United States had no intention of joining the League; but short of this he gave the League support without qualification.

The *Tribune* thought otherwise (December 30, 1933), "As an expression of good will and decent purpose, it [the President's speech] has value; as a contribution to the practical problem of ensuring peace, it is almost negligible."

On May 9, 1934, the *Tribune* wrote:

In view of the fact that there is already a large measure of tacit accord between Great Britain and the United States on the subject of maintaining peace, it is possible that an explicit accord such as Lord Lothian suggests would be ill-advised at this time. . . . Since a large measure of real mutual understanding subsists between the United States and Great Britain, perhaps it would be better to maintain the reality than to encase the shadow of it in parchment and glass.

On December 6, the *Free Press* discussed a League of Nations ballot in Massachusetts:

The historian of tomorrow will undoubtedly say that 75 per cent of the world's post-war troubles arose from the rejection by the people of the United States of the engagements to which Woodrow Wilson sought to commit them. The harvest of these fourteen tragic years is now in sight; and perhaps some realization of what it means to them, as well as to the world, is now coming to the American people. This might well account for the vote of the people of Massachusetts, the state of Henry Cabot Lodge, who will bear through history the responsibility for the post-war course of the United States.

Twenty-three editorials in the *Free Press* and eight in the *Tribune* discussed disarmament. The *Tribune* began on June 25, 1932:

A careful check of the Hoover proposals against the London treaty and the present naval armament of the United States reveals that Mr.

Hoover is merely proposing not to build weapons which Congress has already refused to authorize.

On July 29, it continued:

The fact is the Hoover formula has a grave defect. The link between debts and disarmament is artificial, imaginary; and there is a demagogic ring to the formula itself. Its implications are offensive. The assumption that the United States is so much higher and holier than the other nations that it must, in effect, bribe them to be good is, to say the least, tactless. No doubt the formula originated in good intentions and its history reveals a degree of inexpertness and self-deception rather than any ulterior motive. But its tone of pharisaical virtue killed it.

At the time of the adjournment of the Disarmament Conference (June 8, 1933), the *Free Press* wrote:

One cheering sign is the interest in the question of bringing about disarmament and banishing war taken by the President of the United States . . . but encouragements or suggestions by President Roosevelt . . . have to be qualified by the fact that they could not be implemented if the legislative branch were not agreeable.

On November 24, 1933, the *Tribune*, in discussing an idealistic speech at the Canadian Club, said:

As a matter of hard fact, the prospect for peace in the world is just about what the British Empire and the United States standing together can make it. And all our thought on the subject of disarmament should be based on that central fact.

In dealing with the failure of the Disarmament Conference, the *Free Press* wrote (June 1, 1934): "Neither Britain nor America can be held blameless for the deadlock in the proceedings, which has now apparently become final."

A week later (June 8), its editorial was headed, "A Denial of Coöperation."

This engagement [of Norman Davis at the Geneva Conference] is not specific enough to make any effective contribution to the solution of the problem. A pact of non-aggression . . . would not in itself, mean anything. . . . The agreement to confer with other nations in the event of a breach means nothing either, unless the United States will say . . . that it will coöperate in the application of sanctions, economic and, if necessary, military. . . . This engagement the United States will not give.

In November the Naval Parley between Great Britain, the United States and Japan came under discussion. The *Free Press* (November 22), appreciated the situation thus:

> The demand for naval parity by Japan, with its refusal by Britain and America, simply means that these nations are meeting in the Far East in an attitude of mutual conflict, and that they intend to settle the issue when the showdown comes, by conflict's time-honored method, namely, war as far as it has to be made, and as strenuously as the circumstances demand.

On December 3, 1934, British coöperation with Japan was discussed:

> Could such coöperation take place subsequent to a breakdown of the naval negotiations, without a perilous risk of "alienating" America? . . . On every count the prospect of an agreement which would draw Britain into Japan's orbit at the expense of the United States, with the consequent effect on British-American relations, would be repugnant to Canada and find nothing but opposition in the Dominion.

The *Tribune's* position (December 31) was not dissimilar.

> Canadians would be the last people to egg on the British or the Americans into taking a bellicose attitude toward Japan. . . . At the same time Anglo-American coöperation is so obviously our major interest that nothing would please us better than a British-American naval accord. It cannot be too thorough-going for our tastes.

It is not necessary to follow in detail the long discussion (forty editorials in the *Free Press*, twenty-six in the *Tribune*) of war debts. "The most disastrous consequence of the war, apart from its incredible waste of life and property, was that it made the United States the creditor nation of the world in place of Great Britain," was the view of the *Free Press* (January 6, 1932). The *Tribune* asserted (January 26, 1932), "If there is such a thing as an unconscious aggressor, France and the United States may be said to have blundered into that position." Six months later (August 19), we were told,

> Public opinion is not quite ready because United States public men and press have persisted chiefly for political purposes in pretending, though they must have known better, that the debts were collectable.

The *Free Press* (November 28, 1932) said substantially the same thing, "Mr. Hoover and Mr. Roosevelt are being controlled in their personal ideas by their lieutenants and popular feeling." The *Tribune* returned to the idea (December 2, 1932). "For the most part the United States newspapers have shown no more grasp of the subject and no more enlightenment than the most ignorant of politicians." Yet there was a conviction that politics might take second place in a crisis, "The people of the United States, in any emergency, would make any sacrifice, however great, to safeguard the stability of the British Empire" (*Free Press*, December 10, 1932). But on December 15, 1932, the same paper wrote, "Once again Washington, having urged European nations to a course admirable in itself, has failed at the critical moment to give support to the cause to which it had seemingly committed itself."

On June 6, 1934, we find the *Free Press* describing the Johnson Bill, refusing American credits to nations defaulting on war debt payments, as "compounded of economic ignorance and nationalistic arrogance." And on June 29, 1934, the same paper concluded: "So long as Congress stays in this frame of mind, an American cabinet officer cannot be frank and objective in what he says about war debts."

Both papers placed the blame for the failure of the World Economic Conference on the government of the United States. Thus the *Free Press* on March 13, 1933, asked, "Will the United States change any of its policies before or at the World Economic Conference? If not, it is sure to fail." On June 21, the same paper wrote:

> The conference is at the moment deadlocked on the question of currency stabilization and it appears, on the surface at least, that in this quarrel it is the United States who is the participant that refuses to cry quits. . . . Mr. Roosevelt's plans do not really include international coöperation at all.

On July 4, it pronounced that "The United States is a prime but by no means the only wrecking force at the conference. . . . But why be a party to the holding of a conference which was bound to be a nullity unless it was prepared to modify these policies?" On July 8, the *Tribune* said, "The conference convened

at London is actually a peace conference. President Roosevelt has taken the responsibility of declaring there is to be no peace. To sign a peace treaty would interfere with his domestic program." On July 25, the *Free Press* repeated its judgment, "The conference was destroyed by the Americans—that is a responsibility which President Roosevelt will have to carry in history—but Sir Arthur Salter . . . gives a rather broad hint that if the Americans had not done the job, it would have been attended to just the same."

The proposals in the United States for a reduction of wheat acreage had a bad press in Winnipeg. The *Free Press* took the view (September 18, 1933) that the proposals for a world agreement were only part of a scheme to make other countries, and especially Canada, share in losses which the United States must otherwise take alone. The *Tribune* had taken practically the same position (August 9, 1933). The threat of Mr. Wallace to dump wheat abroad while maintaining the American internal price was styled "the boorish attitude of the dog in the manger" and was said to be "far from being a contribution to international good feeling" (*Free Press*, August 18, 1933). On October 5, 1933, the *Free Press* devoted a long editorial to Mr. Wallace's policies:

> If our American friends want to tackle this particular problem [the inability of the farmer to make a living because the American tariff prevents foreign countries from paying for American exports] in this way [by crop destruction and acreage reduction] it would be no concern of the outside world, if both the problem and the remedy remained matters of purely domestic policy. . . . But Mr. Wallace and his associates decide that if they are to put over their scheme in the United States, they must force other countries to adopt similar policies. Mr. Wallace thereupon makes threats that he will dump the United States wheat surplus if the other countries of the world—with his eye particularly on Canada—do not fall in with his idea. In London his agent, Mr. Murphy, ramps and roars and threatens.

By November 5, 1934, the same paper was able to say:

> The wheat agreement . . . was a dismal and hopeless failure. . . . If fresh schemes like the wheat agreement are to be the American contribution to reviving world trade, there is not much to hope in that quarter.

III. *Issues between the United States and Canada.*

We turn next to a few issues which, while international in character, affected Canada and the United States alone. Both Winnipeg papers favored the proposals for the development of the St. Lawrence River canals and water powers and followed with interest the efforts of the President to secure support for the agreement. The *Free Press* (February 1, 1932) expressed fear that an alarmist opposition might arise in Canada:

> There is something very suggestive in the prominence given by the Montreal *Gazette* to some absurd talk of the Chicago *Tribune* about the virtual annexation of Canada to the United States.

Discussing opposition from Chicago, the same paper contended (August 1, 1932):

> Canada regards these clauses [limiting the diversion of Lake Michigan] as essential. . . . A fair and reasonable settlement and a frank recognition by the United States of Canada's interest in the diversion . . . would remove Canadian doubts and uneasiness on the matter, and there is abundant reason for these doubts.

The *Free Press* next discussed (August 4, 1932) the "Conservative" argument that "The United States could not be trusted. . . . No treaty would be respected by the United States." "This," it said, "is the sheerest bunk, known by their authors to be unfounded, malicious, insincere and mischievous. . . . It is a bit humiliating to recall that that estimate of the amount of ignorant prejudice that could thus be effectively appealed to was completely verified by the results." Yet it was apprehensive (October 8) about the attitude toward Canada of a Democratic Administration: "In the event of a Democratic majority in both houses and a probable Democratic President in the White House, powerful elements in the party might insist on amendments unacceptable to Canada." And from time to time the strength of interested groups in the United States was appraised in both papers.[1]

1. *Free Press:* November 19, 26, 1932; March 31, 1933; April 6, June 28, July 8, 18, September 20, 1933; January 3, 1934; January 13, 31, February 15, 1934.
Tribune: November 25, 1932; April 18, 1933.

The defeat of the proposed treaty was announced in the *Tribune* (March 15, 1934):

> Officially the St. Lawrence waterway treaty was defeated in the Senate yesterday by eighteen votes. The reality of the situation seems to be that its ratification was prevented by four votes—those of the railways, the New York State power interests, the North Atlantic seaports, and the Mississippi Valley.

On the same day the *Free Press* said, "What has happened is in line with what is continually happening in both countries; the larger public interest has been defeated by the political resourcefulness and selfish and strongly organized minority interests." On March 24, it added:

> Some of the arguments advanced against the treaty were beneath contempt. One senator pictured the seaway as furnishing a promenade up which a British fleet would some day move, destroying Buffalo, Cleveland, Detroit and Chicago as it proceeded.

In both papers there was a good deal of rather sceptical discussion as to the possible revival of the treaty.[2] The remark of the *Free Press* (September 10, 1934) was typical, "The United States Senate, however, is an unpredictable assembly."

Tariffs and Trade naturally attracted a great deal of comment (ninety-one editorials in the *Free Press* and seventeen in the *Tribune*). The *Free Press*, which believes in low tariffs or even absolute free trade, made reflections on the American tariff a means of attacking the Canadian tariff. The United States tariff policy has encouraged immigration to cities, "truly national policies will encourage permanence in a rural population" (January 8, 1931). "It would pay the United States to burn or sink the (wheat) surplus, if the interests of the wheat growers are to be considered" (January 13, 1931). "Swapping wheat for coffee from Brazil is the only brilliant stroke of business done by the Federal Farm Board" (September 3, 1931).

Mild retaliation was suggested:

> It is desirable, since the United States makes it very difficult for most

2. *Free Press:* September 10, November 12, 14, 1934.
Tribune: September 6, November 3, December 15, 1934.

Canadian products to enter that country, that we should transfer our import trade to countries that are willing to trade with us and take our goods. (January 19, 1932.)

Senator Smoot's name will always be closely associated with this depression since there is coming to be a pretty general agreement among economists that the last upward revision of the United States tariff checked the move in Europe towards tariff reduction . . . and set afoot (sic) the final wave of economic insanity which has just about engulfed the world. . . . The outside world is through with buying things from the United States until that country recognizes that it must take payment in goods. (March 29, 1932.)

Commenting on the statement in the New York *Times* that 79 per cent of Canada's foreign purchases in 1930 originated in the United States, the *Free Press* asked (August 13, 1932): "What possessed the United States to make commercial war on a country so well disposed towards United States products?" But it contended (August 18, 1932) that:

Our government ought not to escape from its difficulties over British preference by increasing tariffs against the United States . . . though it is true that, morally, a defense could be made were we to proceed against the United States, having regard to the atrocious treatment which Canada has suffered at the hands of that country.

In discussing the Anglo-Canadian agreement, the *Free Press* said (October 24, 1932):

The perturbations of Americans at this prospective loss [of trade] will excite no sympathy on this side of the border. To the diversion from the United States to Great Britain there will be no objection in Canada. The tariff treatment which Canada has received from the United States in the last ten years has predisposed Canadians to look favorably upon tariff or trade developments that take trade from our neighbor and give it to Great Britain which has treated us habitually with fairness and even generosity.

The fear was expressed (January 3, 1933) that war debts reductions might be offered in return for "a policy which might bring about the lowering of continental tariffs, and possibly the tariff of Great Britain against the United States imports. The result might be highly inconvenient—to put it mildly—to Canada."

A typical free-trade editorial appeared on January 11, 1933:

In the widely circulated *Saturday Evening Post*, which is rapidly attaining the position of the world's stupidest paper with respect to everything relating to economics, there is a cartoon which is a faithful presentation of the delusion that has wrecked the world. It shows the idle factories in the United States; foreign shipping dumping goods into the United States, and a figure representing the American people passing a big wad of American money out to a smiling individual labeled "foreign industries." The theory of international trade thus made visible is patently absurd—yet it must be respected, for generations of public men and whole nations have accepted it with touching faith. It looks plausible to the moronic intelligence, it feeds so many prejudices, vanities, hatreds . . . that its position seems impregnable.

A subtle distinction had to be drawn (January 14, 1933):

We should take care not wantonly and without foresight to provoke a contest in retaliation with our neighbor, which is, of course, another thing entirely from defending ourselves to the best of our ability against policies initiated by the United States to our detriment.

This was repeated towards the end of the same year (November 28, 1933):

The National Recovery Act of the United States, both directly and indirectly, has been a help to Canadian business. By increasing production costs in the United States it has reopened markets to Canadian imports that have been closed to them. . . . The Bennett government intervenes with special dumping duties against the United States imports because the American dollar has gone to a discount of two or three per cent. . . . That they may thereby inaugurate a war of reprisals in which we shall get the worst of it does not come within the range of their intelligence. . . . We do not deny the possible necessity of some defense against the United States dollar if it should go to pieces.

The *Tribune* (November 30, 1933) congratulated the Bennett government on finally deciding not to impose such a duty unless the discount went to five per cent.

On February 13, 1934, the *Tribune* wrote of "the growing mass of evidence that the Roosevelt administration, whatever wonders it is working at home, is in the foreign field blundering about like a bull in a china shop."

On June 11, 1934, the *Free Press* said:

However, sectionalism is still the bane of the United States. The tariff, for example, is not framed to benefit the country as a whole, but is a hodge-podge of excessively high duties designed to please this or that section of the country. Mr. Roosevelt will go up against this sectionalism in a startling way when he attempts to make tariff changes under his Reciprocity Tariff Act.

The year closed with mixed feelings (December 7, 1934):

The important and encouraging feature of the report [of the Commission of Inquiry into National Policy in International Economic Relations] is that it rejects indirectly but nevertheless quite emphatically, most of the policies towards the outside world which have been regarded for many years as essential to the prosperity and dignity of the United States.

But the same editorial went on:

The references in the report to trade relations between Canada and the United States will strike Canadians as a bit odd. The Commission sees difficulties in the way of making a reciprocal trade arrangement between these two countries; but these will not, it says, arise from the position which Canada will take. . . . The difficulty is not on the Canadian but on the American side. . . . If this is representative of American opinion, the two governments will be far apart when they begin negotiating. . . . Reciprocity, to Canadians, means a market south of the line for their products of the farm.

The *Tribune* took the same view (December 10): "If additional markets for Canadian farm products are unattainable, Canada's interest in reciprocity is negligible."

And a few days later (December 22) it said, "As matters stand, not even the complete elimination of the Canadian tariff would open the United States market for the products Canada most desires to sell."

IV. *Domestic Politics in the United States.*

The general election of 1932 was followed with close interest and was the subject of eleven editorials in the *Free Press*, and of one in the *Tribune*. On July 4, the *Free Press* said:

The nomination of Roosevelt foreshadows a political struggle which will be deeply significant. The Democratic party has been captured by the

radical elements. . . . The definite emergence of a left wing political party in a country which for ten years has been the model of contented solid standpatism, is an event of first-class importance, not only to the United States but to the world.

The *Tribune* (August 2, 1932) styled Roosevelt, "probably the cleverest politician in the United States today." There was the not unusual comment on the superiority of British political arrangements (September 27):

National elections in the United States are long drawn-out affairs, having a tendency to obscure all other concerns for a period of about six months. . . . The final result appears to be reached gradually in contrast with the decisiveness of a British election. The American system was devised to fit an extensive country in the day of slow communications. There has been much talk of modernizing and speeding it up, but its redundant nonchalance has resisted all assaults of a century. It is the same now as it was in 1790.

The *Free Press* warned its readers (October 11):

It is a delusion to suppose that the Hearst Press for all its flamboyance carries no weight. It is very potent. The Hearst papers depict Mr. Hoover, as the man who will betray the United States to the Machiavellis of Europe by working with the League and joining the World Court and who will sell out the United States to the international bankers by cancelling the war debts. . . . An extraordinary anomaly—Roosevelt, supposedly a Wilsonian, is supported by papers utterly opposed to Wilson's foreign policies. . . . It is fairly clear that the Hearst Press has had some influence in keeping Mr. Roosevelt silent on world issues.

American political devices were not praised. Of Tammany, the *Free Press* wrote (October 21): "From the point of view of the party the machine works excellently, from the point of view of the public, its excellence may be doubted." Of the efforts of industrialists to persuade employees to vote for Hoover, it said (October 26):

We imagine the people of Canada would be shocked, if not scandalized, if President Beatty of the Canadian Pacific Railway circularized his stockholders and employees in favor of either political party at a general election.

Its Washington correspondent felt it necessary to explain the discussion of the private lives of candidates (October 27):

American voters are strongly influenced by party inheritance and

loyalty, to an equal degree by the emotional impulse to punish an unsuccessful statesman, and to a slight extent by programs and policies. A fourth factor in their decisions in presidential contests is their estimate of the candidates as persons.

In the Congressional elections of 1934 the *Tribune* was particularly interested in the effect of lavish governmental expenditure by "buying votes." The final comment (November 7) was:

President Roosevelt has been given a clear two-thirds majority in both senate and house—the most sweeping mandate within living memory. . . . From the Canadian point of view this result is surprising. "Relief money won't buy votes, or even hold them" has become almost an axiom of Canadian politics. The reason, perhaps, is that Canadian relief is not managed in Santa Claus style.

The *Free Press* qualified this opinion (November 7): "But there is a great deal more to the vote for Roosevelt than a lively sense of favors to come. . . . The new deal, for all its faults and failures, has been definitely endorsed."

V. *American Economic Developments.*

More attention was paid to the N.R.A. than to any other aspect of American life. The *Free Press* published 120 editorials and the *Tribune* sixty-two. Until towards the end of 1934 there was little difference between the attitudes of sympathetic interest adopted by both the Winnipeg papers. Then, curiously enough, the *Free Press* became more and more critical and the *Tribune* less critical and even friendly.

On March 30, the *Tribune* wrote: "There is a new feeling of confidence. . . . Congress is also behaving splendidly in the crisis. . . . It is all heartening for Canada as well as the United States."

"The Senate," wrote the *Free Press* on April 15, "has passed a bill to establish in industry the thirty-hour week . . . a bill which it knows to be unconstitutional at the present time."

On April 26, the *Free Press* said:

Though the fact may not be agreeable to Canadians, . . . it is the truth that the interests of the people of Canada will be more affected by the course of events in Washington during the next few months

than by anything that will be, or can be, done by our own Parliament and Government.

On May 11, the *Tribune* discussed the regulation of business, "The fact that Roosevelt's measure is Fascism pure and simple, carries with it startling implications. Evidently the republic, like a sick man, is ready to pay handsomely for recovery."

On May 31, the *Free Press* was alarmed:

Mr. Roosevelt has announced an important change of mind . . . his government is ready to put into effect almost at once the "processing tax" plan in that bill. . . . The President's reversal of front is important . . . for the evidence it yields as to the direction of his economic thinking. . . . It suggests that the die is cast in Washington in favor of the "highly significant policy of isolation." For the American government, if it levies these taxes, will be jacking up American farm prices without reference to world market conditions and by a method which involves insulating the United States against the currents of world price fluctuations.

The editorials succeeded each other in rapid succession. By August 5, the *Free Press* was dubious:

The Roosevelt program clearly involves isolation and insulation of the United States from the currents of world commerce.

The obvious question arises whether the blessings . . . which are to precede the final abandonment of control, will actually appear. Mr. Roosevelt and his colleagues, and apparently the majority of Americans, expect the blessings to appear. A thoughtful minority has very grave doubts.

On August 16, the *Tribune* wrote:

So far as the general recovery is concerned they [Canadians] would rather it came by the British methods of sure and steady improvement than by the American method of pulling themselves up by their shoestrings.

Two days later:

Direct action for maintenance of fair prices to the retail purchaser has now entered the N.R.A. It is a grandiose aim and a praiseworthy . . . a characteristic move of the indomitable president who aims to replace what he calls "economy hell" by an economic heaven.

On August 22, the *Free Press*

cannot suppress misgivings that the thing is too big for control, that it is

getting away from the men who started it, that when the time comes, as it inevitably will, when the 127,000,000 consumers of the United States will protest against the rising prices forced on them, this organization will be swamped.

Three days later (August 25), the same paper wrote:

All the "copy cats" in Canada are fascinated with what is going on in the United States, and there are loud cries that we should get busy and emulate the Washington performance. But this is certainly a time for us to pay deference to the Asquithian motto, "Wait and see."

On September 22, the *Free Press* commented on the intolerance of criticism, "Visitors to the United States have found it best for their health to treat the blue eagle and his progenitors with the same respect tourists in Germany are advised to show toward Herr Hitler and the swastika."

On October 13, the comment was critical:

Can an economic society exist half planned and half free? This would be one way of asking whether Mr. Roosevelt can exist. . . . After six months . . . the United States stands in a strange twilight zone, midway between economic freedom and economic planning. . . . Mr. Roosevelt's half-way house to Socialism, the control of production without an attempt to make it dovetail into consumption, loses the advantages of free initiative and growing output without gaining the advantages of automatic distribution and security for everyone, supposing these to be attainable.

On January 1, 1934, the *Tribune* argued that foreign governments cannot possibly coöperate with Mr. Roosevelt because they do not know, and he does not know himself, what he is going to do next.

Of Mr. Roosevelt's budget, the *Free Press* wrote on January 6, "The brain trusters, in whose eyes 'sound finance' is an invention of the devil, have won another victory."

When a Minnesota law postponing the time when the holder of a mortgage farm can take possession on foreclosure, was upheld by the Supreme Court, the *Free Press* (January 18, 1934) pointed out, "The judgment is an approval of emergency measures for the relief of debtors at the expense of creditors, but not of any permanent or basic change in the economic system."

On March 26, the *Tribune* declared, "The gospel of economic planning is gaining converts in Canada." A few days later (March

31), the *Free Press* asked, "Why not have a Canadian N.R.A.?" The answer was that the New Deal is not working out as hoped.

By May 31, the *Free Press* observed:

Since March, 1933, prices have risen in the United States more than enough to offset the rise in hourly wage rates. There have been no gains in "real" wages. On the other hand the profits of 51 American industrial corporations have increased from six millions to eighteen millions. . . . The picture is clear. The large industries have used the opportunity to push up prices, but they have not passed on any of their added earnings to labor.

And on June 1, it says, "What seems likely to disappear is the fascist part of the program, chiefly price fixing."

On October 4, the *Free Press* wrote:

The whole complex machinery of the N.R.A. may be grinding discordantly into wreckage . . . yet the firm prestige of President F. D. Roosevelt remains unimpaired . . . an immense majority of the people have no blame for the president. The solution of this political crossword puzzle lies in one word. It is "honest." Franklin D. Roosevelt is the answer to the unspoken prayer in every American heart for some retrieving of a degree of order and fair play in the anarchical piracy of American business.

On December 22, its view was:

Mr. Roosevelt, by his creed as an experimentalist, is bound to move one way or the other. . . . In the meantime, it is a fact of immense interest to Canadians and other countries that the first Roosevelt assault on the depression, after eighteen months, is an admitted failure.

On January 27, it remarked, "A planned economy beyond anything ever attempted in Russia seems to be favored by high officials of the United States."

On other aspects of the Recovery Program there was corresponding comment in both papers. On October 18, 1932, Mr. Hoover was blamed by the *Free Press* for ignoring the importance of the collapse of Agriculture. On April 14, 1933, the same paper observed that "the American farmer must be hard to please if he cannot find something to his taste in the potpourri presented for his consideration in the Farm Relief Bill now before the Senate."

In June of the same year the farmers appeared to be trying to extract more bonus money from the United States treasury than they were entitled to receive. "Adding the variable of human nature to the variable of weather, it hardly looks as if planning crops in advance is a feasible proposition."

In discussing the numbers of young men without funds and without occupations who had begun to wander about the country, the *Free Press* wrote on August 20, 1932:

> There is a warning to Canadians in the alarm of the United States federal government concerning their similar problem. The United States fears that if these youths do not become criminals through the associations into which they are thrown, they will become hardened vagrants. The same fear should grip us.

On November 29, 1932, we were told, "To judge from press reports the cities of the United States are as befogged in the matter of unemployment relief as are those of Canada, and are as beset with emergency suggestions."

Comment on Labor strikes did not begin until as late as the the summer of 1934. Then the *Tribune* wrote (August 16): "If we except the San Francisco strike, the basic cause of most of the recent strikes in the United States appears to be that the N.R.A. has set up an unworkable system." On September 19, 1934, the *Free Press* said of the textile strike, "It is, to outsiders, an interesting demonstration that the code system of regulating industry does not guarantee peace."

The comments on the financial problems of the United States were in the main explanatory. "This news [of a prospective deficit] comes as a shock to many Americans who seem to have been quite unprepared for it." (*Tribune*, May 18, 1931.)

The *Free Press* on January 23, 1932, compared 2,000 bank failures in the United States with the absence of any in Canada in the year 1931. There were frequent references to the burden of the premium on American funds to Canadian debtors:

> If Calgary pays the surcharge, who gets the extra money, since the American bondholders don't? Most of it, if not all, would stay in Canada—would go to miners, exporters and Canadian bondholders. We do not know that even they are to be abused as bloodsuckers and Shylocks; but certainly

these terms applied to American creditors are simply displays of ignorant scurrility. (December 30, 1932.)

On March 6, 1933, the acute banking crisis was discussed in the *Free Press* in not very charitable terms:

After the panic of 1907, when there was a suspension of banking in the United States, steps were taken to assure that such a condition could never prevail again. . . . The impossible has happened . . . its cause . . . hysteria. The crisis is primarily a reflection upon the people of the United States.

And on March 7, "The people of the United States dug the pit in which they now find themselves."

Of the refusal of the United States to pay foreign holders of liberty bonds in gold, the *Free Press* said on May 4, 1933, "This action certainly strengthens the moral if not the legal position of those debtors who object to paying their United States creditors in American funds. The cases are not equal, but they amount to pretty much the same thing."

On December 4, 1933, the *Free Press* wrote:

The course which the United States is pursuing in an effort to depress the external value of the dollar constitutes a major operation in the great currency war. The purpose which the American government has chiefly in mind is to raise the internal price level. . . . The result is an undervaluation of the United States dollar in relation to the pound of more than 20 per cent.

It went on to point out the disastrous result of reprisals and to deplore the unwillingness of the United States to coöperate with other nations.

On February 8, 1934, the *Free Press* stressed the same point:

Mr. Roosevelt is not manipulating prices and currency values inside a water-tight compartment shut off from the rest of mankind. The dollar is an international currency, and Mr. Roosevelt as a single-handed controller of it has a responsibility to the world.

VI. *Comment on Social and Cultural Influences.*

It is in comments on matters of everyday life that the belief is disclosed that there is a genuine difference between Canadian

and American social conditions. As we have seen in Chapters VIII, XII–XIII, the prevalence of crime in the United States is invariably the subject of adverse criticism in Canada.

On August 31, 1931, the *Free Press* remarked:

Increasing profit of organized crime produces the necessary funds for wholesale official corruption. . . . Figures supplied by the Wickersham Commission should be the first jolt towards the appreciation of the necessity of crime prevention and crime control.

The *Tribune* expressed its bewilderment on September 15, 1933:

The Americans, it seems, can get excited and busy about a nuisance, but cannot do much about a crime, except wallow in a kind of indulgent sentimentality.

On November 17, 1932, the *Free Press* said:

Dr. D. W. Parmalee . . . has been making a study of the schools of the United States and has decided that what is wrong with them is the cause of increasing crime throughout the country . . . a lack of sober effort to inculcate strong moral principles.

The Canadian censorship, the same paper thought (February 7, 1932), is perhaps justified by the objectionable character of certain American magazines and books, "certainly a lurid and tough collection."

The Lindbergh case naturally called out many comments. On May 13, 1932, the *Free Press* said, "This crime has put social protection in the United States in a light it has never been in before. If this can happen with impunity, the social fabric of the country must be in a strange condition."

The *Tribune*, on July 15, 1932, ventured to generalize on the freedom of Canada from kidnaping[3], little suspecting that one of the major kidnaping cases was shortly to take place at London, Ontario.

3. By May, 1936, the Federal Department of Justice had wiped its slate clean of every kidnaper in the United States. It therefore seemed appropriate to omit a good deal of the more bitter Canadian comment on the Hauptmann case. Although the slate is no longer quite clean, this comment has not been replaced. —(Editor.)

Kidnaping may lead to the nationalization of the United States police, and to a registration of all inhabitants in imitation of the European practice. But in a community whose ideals contain a large ingredient of anarchy, that is a distant prospect. . . . Canada fortunately has been free from this latest curse. The American criminal is reputed to have a wholesome respect for Canadian police and law enforcement. . . . Canadians prefer to live quietly, the records show they live longer.

When Hauptmann was arrested in the autumn of 1934, the *Tribune* observed (September 27):

The remarkable feature of the case at this stage, from the Canadian viewpoint, is the apparent desire of the police to try the case before the bar of public opinion without waiting to bring the prisoner before a judge.

The comment of the *Free Press* was more discriminating. It adds (October 1):

It is a point worth noting, in view of the current reputations of American police forces, that with only one or two exceptions every recent kidnaping case in the United States has been closed with an arrest and conviction.

The Hauptmann trial continued to provide opportunities for sneering at American judicial methods and, by implication, praising British and Canadian procedure. There can be no doubt that this sort of comment gave pleasure to many Canadian readers. It would be out of place at this point to appraise either its fairness or its propriety.

On November 15, the *Tribune* wrote:

Of all the astounding phenomena in the Lindbergh case, the apparent assumption on the part of everyone concerned that Hauptmann's prosecution and his ultimate conviction or acquittal must be worked out in the columns of the newspapers is the most astounding of all. . . . The police began the day Hauptmann was arrested to build up in the public mind a conviction that he was guilty. . . . Perhaps they overdid it, even for the American public. Someone started a defense fund and public subscriptions to this fund amounted to more than $100,000 at the last report. Where in the world, outside of that extraordinary country, could such a sum be raised for such a purpose?

The American attitude towards law is a constant puzzle for Canadian newspapers:

American ideas of law enforcement are a source of perennial amazement

to British visitors. They have reams of law—but convicting the jovial lawbreakers—and their name is everybody—is a horse of a different color. (*Free Press*, July 19, 1934.)

Lynching, of which there was an outbreak in the autumn of 1933, is a frequent subject of comment by both papers.

It cannot be regarded purely as a matter of mob psychology because "in the United States there are highly placed people who, in lucid moments, defend lynching as right and proper."

Linked to the tradition that the law may be, and even should be, defied, is the tradition of summary justice for desperadoes who are, for any reason, beyond the reach of the courts. This is an inheritance from frontier days when courts did not exist and vigilantes did their work. . . . Here is perhaps an explanation of lynchings but, of course, it is not a defense of them. There is no defense of a custom which releases the cruelty of a mob. And there is no defense, in a well-ordered state, of a custom which denies any accused person a trial. (*Free Press*, November 30, 1933.)

Horrible and debasing as they are, it would be a mistake to regard recent lynchings in the United States as mere demonstrations of unrestrained mob brutality. The spirit that inspired such public atrocities goes deeper than that. (*Tribune*, December 1, 1933.)

In 1934 both papers took occasion to compare the American homicide rate with that of Canada, which is lower, and that of Great Britain, which is lower still. The *Tribune* (September 21) drew from these facts an altogether unwarranted conclusion:

Why such a startling unfavorable total for our southern neighbor? To a large extent the familiarity produced by the craving for sensationalism on the part of press and people must be blamed. Across the line villains and criminals of all types are usually made heroes.

The adverse criticism of American conditions which is so evident in the discussion of law enforcement also appears when American moving pictures and American radio programs are considered. There is no desire expressed to exclude influences solely because they are American, but there is a distinct belief that a number of unworthy influences are distinctively American and that these can be excluded from Canada without depriving Canadians of access to anything which is of value in American pictures and American broadcasts. (*See* Chapters V and VI.) It does not

appear necessary to summarize the comments on these two topics here as each topic has already been dealt with in a separate chapter in which the views of the Winnipeg papers have been noted.

This chapter can end on a pleasing note. Both papers welcomed American tourists. Thus on July 30, 1931, the *Free Press* wrote:

> They are only asked to find out how little they differ from us, or we from them, and to take back with them the inspiration of a hope, of a conviction, that the better understanding of each other will insure the continuance of good will that must endure for ever. It may be that the stability of the world depends on it.

But, as we have seen, this assertion of similarity must be understood as dependent on the tacit assumption, dubious though polite, that the tourists who are welcomed from the south are the best Americans. And both papers thought that Canada should reciprocate in allowing returning travelers to bring back $100 worth of purchases duty free (*Free Press*, August 30, 1934.)—a concession which has since been made.

CHAPTER XIV

PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES

I. *The Value of Parliamentary Debates as Evidence of Popular Opinion.*

There is no deliberate cynicism in classing Canadian parliamentary debates as evidence of Canadian opinion rather than as one of the factors which help to mold it. Whether or not it be a symptom that democracy has fallen on evil days, we must recognize that most members of parliament say the things which are, in their opinion—and they are experts in such matters—likely to please their constituents and lead to their own re-election, and avoid saying things likely to offend important groups in the community. Thus when we find members expressing strong views about the United States we may ordinarily assume that these views are popularly held. With the question of the sincerity or insincerity of the members, or even the intelligence of their views, we are not concerned in the present study.

But all the references to the United States do not come within the category of remarks made to enhance the political popularity of the speaker. It is very common to use the United States as an example of what to do or of what not to do, and to support or attack proposed legislation for Canada by an interpretation of American experience. The method of debate in a legislative assembly is, of course, far removed from the technique of a scientist who tries to remove every possible source of error before he applies an analogy. It may sometimes represent the careful judgment of a thoughtful man, sometimes an attempt to find an argument which is superficially conclusive and difficult to answer. The argument is, after all, addressed not to the other members whose opinions are already formed or whose behavior is imposed upon them by party allegiance, but to the distant electorate which likes to see its views vigorously defended by forceful repetition. So that we can once more conclude that the expression of an idea in the legislature is some evidence that it is prevalent in the community.

With these general considerations in mind, we can turn to an

examination of the debates in the federal parliament since 1920 to see what has been said about the United States and about Canadian-American relations.

II. *References to the United States as a Model or a Warning.* (By Alexander Brady.)

The institutions of the United States are perennially used to illustrate what ought to be, or what ought not to be, established in Canada; but in most cases the speakers in the federal parliament within our period urged the adoption of American patterns. Either in improving old legislation, or in projecting new, Canadian legislators naturally looked across the frontier to the vast laboratory of social experiments which lay to the south.

The issue of the tariff arose in almost every session from 1920 onwards, and proved specially provocative in eliciting comments from protectionists on the value of the American example. One of the standing arguments for a highly protective tariff in Canada was that the high per capita wealth of the United States resulted from the high American tariff. Thus, Mr. L. J. Ladner, member for Vancouver South, after reviewing the industrial history of the United States to illustrate the advantages of protection, remarked:

> The duties of the United States during the last fifty-five years have been from 50 to 235 per cent higher than those in Canada; and I submit that this is what has produced a higher standard of living and higher wages in the United States as compared with Canada, this is what has attracted immigrants from foreign countries to build up that country to its present status.[1]

Mr. G. B. Nicholson, member for East Algoma, presented an argument typical of that used by the protectionists in the budget debate of 1926.

> If there is any country that has given the whole world an example of industrial economics and one that we at all events would do well to follow, it is the United States. From 1866 right down to the present day, taking their whole tariff on the average, the United States has been the most highly protected country in the world, and what have they accomplished under that policy? They have multiplied their population three and one-half times during that period, they have multiplied their industrial wealth

1. Debates, 1924, p. 1970.

almost one hundred times, and with what result? They have raised the standard of living to the highest level known in any country in the world, and their standard of wages is the highest of any country in the world.[2]

Mr. T. L. Church, Toronto North-West, often gave similar evidence.

The proper application of the principle of protection will do what it has done in the United States; it will solve the economic needs [sic] of the country, safeguard our industries, protect agriculture, the greatest industry we have, and will make our people happier and more contented. In acting along that line we shall be taking a leaf out of the book of the United States.[3]

Mr. Peter McGibbon, member for Muskoka, Ontario, argued in a like strain,[4] as did many others.

An occasional attempt was, however, made after the beginning of the depression in 1929 to hold up the United States as an example of the evil consequences of high tariffs. Mr. H. Butcher, member for Last Mountain, argued that the prohibitive tariffs of the United States had much to do with that country's sharp distress during the depression.[5] But within the period this type of remark was exceptional; it was principally the protectionists who used the United States as an example.

Mr. C. E. Bothwell, member for Swift Current, in arguing for more adequate salaries for postmasters, presented a table to show that higher salaries were paid to these functionaries in the United States.[6] Likewise the Honorable Ernest Lapointe, in discussing the salaries of judges in Canada, cited salaries of judges in the United States to illustrate how low the Canadian salaries were by comparison.[7]

Mr. Edwards, member for Frontenac, in discussing Canada's immigration problems, was strongly of the opinion that Canada should copy the quota law of the United States.[8] Mr. T. L. Church,

2. Debates, 1926, p. 2,751.
3. Debates, 1926, p. 3,216.
4. Debates, 1927, p. 574.
5. Debates, 1931, p. 238.
6. Debates, 1928, p. 246.
7. Debates, 1927, p. 1,561.
8. Debates, 1927, p. 219.

in commenting upon trusts and combines in Canada, argued that the country required a Sherman anti-trust law.[9] Mr. J. S. Woodsworth described the operations and political machinations of the great power corporations of the United States as a warning of what might happen in Canada if the state did not early exert itself to control power within the Dominion.[10] Mr. James Arthurs, member for Parry Sound, in speaking on a proposal that the federal government should subsidize the building of national highways, pointed to the example set, in this matter, by the federal government of the United States. He contended that this example should be carefully weighed, and that the government at Ottawa should spend federally per head for roads approximately what the government at Washington spent.[11] Mr. T. E. Kaiser, an Ontario member, in pleading for more frugal expenditures on the diplomatic service, cited what he considered to be the relatively less costly expenditures of the United States on individual legations.[12] Mr. Luchkowich thought that the government of Canada might do well to copy the policy of the American government in regard to technical education.[13]

In the Senate, speakers made somewhat similar references to the United States, but seemed more inclined than members of the House of Commons to emphasize those evil features of American life which Canadians should avoid. Senator Proudfoot, in advocating a divorce court for Canada, expressed the belief that a federal court could do something to prevent what he considered the scandalous situation in the United States, where, in some states, divorce had been made too easy.[14] In a debate on an amendment to the criminal code, Senator Fowler was anxious that changes should be avoided that would make the Canadian judicial system operate like the judicial system of the United States, where the right of appeal is so absurd that often "more years elapse between the time of the first conviction for the crime and the time he (the

9. Debates, 1929, p. 127.
10. Debates, 1929, p. 442.
11. Debates, 1930, p. 434.
12. Debates, 1930, p. 1368.
13. Debates, 1930, p. 434.
14. Debates, 1920, p. 7. *See* also remarks of Senator Lynch-Staunton, p. 174.

criminal) enters upon his punishment than would be occupied in serving a proper sentence."[15] There were other references to the tendencies of criminal justice in the United States as examples of what to avoid.[16]

Senator Pardee, in a debate on the census, was emphatic that no country in the world so well instilled the spirit of patriotism in its youth as the United States, and that Canada might well follow the example of her neighbor in this matter.[17]

III. *The Cultural Influence of the United States on Canada.* (By Alexander Brady.)

In the session of 1922, and in a number of succeeding sessions, Mr. Horatio Hocken, member for Toronto West Centre, raised the question of the desirability of restraining the inflow to Canada of American magazines (*See* Chapter VII), and through his persistency the subject continued to be the occasion for a debate by various speakers on the cultural influence of these publications in Canada.

Mr. Hocken was moved by four considerations. (i) He felt concerned over what he viewed as the penetration in Canada, through magazines, of American ideas and an American sense of values, which would render difficult the emergence of a distinct "national thought." (ii) He was anxious to protect Canadian manufacturers. In abundantly advertising goods manufactured in the United States, the American magazines in Canada greatly aided the foreign in contrast to the native manufacturers. (iii) He was anxious to protect Canadian publishers from powerful American competition. (iv) He feared that the circulation of American magazines with their seductive accounts of life in the United States would stimulate emigration to the neighboring country.

In urging a check to the inflow into Canada of American ideas and sentiments, Mr. Hocken argued thus:

> If we are going to remain Canada, we must be Canadians. . . . We cannot imbibe the ideals of a foreign state without suffering in our sentiment, and that is the situation in which we find ourselves today. . . .

15. Debates, 1920, p. 101.
16. *See*, for example, remarks of Senator Lougheed, Debates, 1920, p. 716.
17. Debates, 1922, p. 259.

There are 70,000,000 copies of American periodicals coming into this country every year, not one of them telling the Canadian story, all of them leaving the impression that God's country is the United States, and putting into the minds of our young people the idea that the land of promise is south of the border, not here.[18]

In supporting his contentions, Mr. Hocken cited the resolutions of such bodies as the Toronto Women's Liberal Association, the Canadian Authors' Association, the Imperial Order Daughters of the Empire, the Canadian Manufacturers' Association, the Association of Canadian Clubs, and the Brantford Chamber of Commerce.[19] Some of these resolutions merely advocated the banning of salacious American magazines; others pointed to the advisability of providing some protection to Canadian publishers by at least taxing the advertising matter in the imported magazines.

Many members of the House of Commons shared Mr. Hocken's fears, and Conservatives in particular championed the principle of protection. In 1923, Mr. Arthur Meighen, in advocating the taxation of advertising within American magazines, emphasized the fact that Canada had a population of nine million alongside an English-speaking country of one hundred and ten million, a unique situation for a young nation.[20] As a consequence, there was a perennial threat to the cultural identity of Canada. If something was not done to protect Canadian magazines, the current literature of Canada would become mainly American, a result which he looked upon with anxiety because "the magazine industry is one that contributes to the building up of Canadian spirit and Canadian national sentiment."[21] The essence of Mr. Meighen's argument was:

The only extent to which the quality of the literature to be encouraged enters into the question is this: By a policy of encouraging Canadian literature by the means suggested, would we be likely to get better literature from the moral standpoint; or from the Canadian standpoint? I think we would be likely to get better literature from both. I think it would be better from the moral standpoint for the simple reason that in a country like Canada, of a sparse, highly rural population, the general average of

18. Debates, 1927, p. 603.
19. Debates, 1923, p. 832.
20. Debates, 1923, p. 850.
21. Debates, 1923, p. 852.

literature that will appeal to the people will probably be better than in a great cosmopolitan nation of the immensity of the United States. I think that may be concluded without assuming to ourselves any superior moral attributes. That we will get a more Canadian literature goes without question.[22]

Mr. Bennett, in a debate in 1927, gave his interpretation of the baneful influence of American magazines on Canadian nationality. He considered that they advertised goods at prices often below what they could be produced for in Canada.

This brings about a certain distrust of our whole economic system and of the conduct of national affairs. It also does much to form a public opinion antagonistic to the very country in which we live. The effect of reading those advertisements of motor cars, washing machines, canned goods and various other commodities . . . especially on the minds of young people, is to make them ask, "What is wrong with Canada that I should have to pay so much more for these things than the price at which they are sold in the United States?" The result is that public opinion is being formed unconsciously and the whole national sentiment of the country is being more or less wrongly influenced, and this in turn injuriously affects the creation of that strong feeling of Canadianism that we are all so anxious to encourage.[23]

But prior to 1931, Mr. Hocken's supporters were not confined to the Conservative party, nor to English-speaking Canadians. Mr. Henri Bourassa, in 1927, said that for once he found himself in accord with Mr. Hocken. He was at least ready to support him in excluding entirely certain American publications, but was not so ready to support an unqualified protection for the publishing industry; nor was he confident that tariff protection would foster literature.[24] Mr. Charles Marcil, Liberal member for Bonaventure, expressed staunch support of Mr. Hocken's principal objective, the reduction in the inflow of American publications, and believed that the government should reap a revenue from American newspapers which circulated in Canada. In 1923, he remarked that "there are publications in the United States which should never be allowed into Canada . . . if for no other reason than the moral

22. Debates, 1923, p. 849.
23. Debates, 1927, p. 2033.
24. Debates, 1927, p. 607.

reason and because they are anti-Canadian and anti-British."[25] In 1927, Mr. A. M. Young, Liberal member for Saskatoon, also spoke in favor of banning certain obscene literature which came from the United States, but he did not favor protection for publishers.[26]

When, in 1931, the government of Mr. Bennett imposed taxes on certain classes of American magazines (*See* pp. 160–165), little attention was paid to the effect of the taxation on the fortunes of periodical literature in Canada. Mr. King led the most vigorous attack on the duties, especially on the form in which they were originally proposed.[27] He challenged the desirability of any tax designed to check the flow of ideas from the United States, his contention being that Canadian nationality would suffer little from the influence of American magazines and publications.

> Thought, as honorable members well know, is cosmopolitan. It should have no limitation with respect either to place or time. All advances that are made in civilization are the result of ideas, and in any way to preclude the possibility of a good idea having its opportunity of fruition to the full in any quarter is to retard to that extent the progress of civilization itself. . . . So far as our immediate neighbors are concerned, I venture to say that their thought on the great questions of the day finds its expression in the leading periodicals and publications of the United States. I believe it is all in the interests of international good will that the people of our country should become as familiar as possible with the trends of thought in the United States on all classes of questions, just as it is all-important that our neighbors should also become acquainted with our trends of thought and thereby, in a more immediate way, become familiar with the thought which governs British communities generally. I deplore any tax which will in any way restrict the widest spread of views and ideas throughout communities, particularly communities that are neighbors."[28]

Mr. Bennett in reply pointed out that magazines which promoted thought and stimulated ideas would not be taxed, but was convinced that some check should be placed on the inflow of a large number of popular American magazines.

25. Debates, 1923, p. 843. *See* also his remarks in Debates, 1927, p. 2031.
26. Debates, 1927, p. 684.
27. Debates, July 17, 1931.
28. Debates, 1931, p. 3880.

The issue of American cultural penetration emerged again in the meagre parliamentary discussions on radio broadcasting. Previous to 1932, this subject received only slight and fragmentary attention. The decision of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, in February, 1932, that the federal parliament had power to legislate on radio as a matter of national concern, immediately increased parliamentary interest. Mr. Bennett acted quickly by appointing a committee of the House of Commons "to advise and recommend a complete technical scheme of radio broadcasting for Canada, so designed as to ensure from Canadian sources as complete and satisfactory a service as the present development of radio science will permit."[29]

In introducing his proposals, Mr. Bennett remarked:

It must be agreed that the present system of radio broadcasting is unsatisfactory. Canadians have the right to a system of broadcasting from Canadian sources equal in all respects to that of any other country. Such a scheme can be established only after the most thorough inquiry, and upon a program which will take several years to carry into effect. The enormous benefit of an adequate scheme of radio broadcasting, controlled and operated by Canadians, is abundantly plain. Properly employed, the radio can be made a most effective instrument in nation building, with an educational value difficult to estimate.[30]

In introducing a bill to constitute a commission for the control of broadcasting, Mr. Bennett remarked:

First of all, this country must be assured of complete Canadian control of broadcasting from Canadian sources, free from foreign interference or influence. Without such control, radio broadcasting can never become a great agency for the communication of matters of national concern and for the diffusion of national thought and ideals, and without such control, it can never be the agency by which national consciousness may be fostered and sustained and national unity still further strengthened.[31]

Behind this statement was clearly the intention to neutralize in

29. Debates, 1932, p. 717. The influence of American radio programs is discussed in Chapter VI and Chapter XVI.

30. Debates, 1932, p. 236.

31. Debates, 1932, p. 3055.

some degree the influence of American radio broadcasts, by the establishment of a nationally controlled system in Canada.

After the establishment of the Radio Commission, there was some parliamentary discussion on the details of the Commission's policy, and occasional comments indicated the personal view of members that the proper radio policy for Canada was one which would render listeners less dependent on American stations. Mr. Bradette, member for North Timiskaming, remarked:

> The sooner it is made possible for radio owners to have access to Canadian programs, musical or otherwise, the better it will be for this nation. I repeat that in our section we have no great objection to hearing some of the wonderful programs that come from the south, but I believe that, first of all, we should have access to Canadian programs.[32]

Beyond these comments, there was little significant discussion in parliament, and the subject of cultural influences rarely arose in connection with other matters. Indeed, the entire subject failed to receive much attention and the ordinary member would probably have considered it of minor importance.

IV. *The Economic and Political Policies of the United States.* (By Alexander Brady.)

In virtually every session within the period under review some discussion of American economic policies occurred. Among these, the tariff policy of the government at Washington held premier place. The principal tariff measures, such as the Fordney-McCumber and Hawley-Smoot tariffs, imposed duties tending to restrict the importation of certain commodities from Canada while Canadians were purchasing heavily in the United States, and the irritation at these measures was reflected in the parliamentary debates as well as in the press. The Conservatives, then in opposition, sought to exploit the irritation to the damage of the Liberal government, which, they argued, was not sufficiently protecting Canada. Messrs. R. B. Bennett and R. J. Manion tirelessly emphasized this point of view. On February 21, 1928, Dr. Manion, in a speech which aroused wide newspaper comment, declared that "red-blooded Canadians" should "show some spirit of retaliation

32. Debates, 1933, p. 4160.

in self-defence against such action on the part of the United States."[33] And again on March 8, 1929, he urged the Canadian government to discontinue a "subservient attitude" towards the United States, and advocated a special session of parliament to deal in a "red-blooded Canadian manner" with the tariff passed in the special session of Congress. If Americans should resent the adoption of a purely "Canada-First" policy and reveal a tendency towards further antagonism, Canada could trade with countries "which have shown themselves friendly to us."[34] He further observed:

> There is nobody in this House more friendly disposed towards the United States than I am, but I am a Canadian first, and I say it is time for us to assert unequivocally our position in regard to our dealings with the United States, just as they assert unequivocally their position from day to day towards us. After all we are not mendicants. . . . We are a strong, virile people. We have attained to business maturity.[35]

In the same debate like sentiments and opinions were expressed by some of Dr. Manion's party associates.[36] In June of the same year, Mr. Bennett dealt in an equally outspoken manner with the fiscal relations of the two countries. He reviewed commercial policies from the establishment of the emergency tariff of 1921 and illustrated how the American tariff since the Great War had injured Canada's agriculture. He emphasized, what most of his Conservative colleagues also stressed, that Canada, owing to her many purchases in the United States, was entitled to more considerate treatment by her neighbor. He attacked the Canadian government for not adopting a policy which would more clearly and effectively protect Canadian interests. "All that we have done is to sell our birthright in the way of mines, forests and the wealth that nature has given us from our lands, and exported them to give employment to men and women in a foreign country."[37]

Such were the attitudes of the party then in opposition. Their

33. Debates, 1928, p. 660.
34. Debates, 1929, p. 793.
35. Debates, 1929, p. 791.
36. *See* remarks of Messrs. Ladner and Stevens, Debates, 1929, pp. 914 and 1082.
37. Debates, 1929, p. 3540.

appeal to the electorate was successful, a fact which tends to confirm the belief in the existence of a national consciousness in Canada prone at times to an attitude of suspicion towards the policies of the United States.

The party in power at this time also appealed to national sentiment, although in a different manner. Typical of its attitude was a speech of Mr. King on February 24, 1930, when he sought to arouse Canadian pride by emphasizing that Canada should act neither as a small boy nor as a bully:

> This business of treating a neighbor as if he were anything but a neighbor, this putting up of tariff walls for the sake of reprisals, is very far from being the kind of thing which is essential to true neighborliness, to a better understanding between nations and to the promotion of that good will which should prevail throughout the world. My honorable friend . . . seeks to create in this country a prejudice against the United States.[38]

Yet Mr. King and his colleagues seem to have concluded that the type of appeal made by the leaders of the opposition was powerful, because in the spring of 1930 they introduced the Dunning Budget with its countervailing duties, a recognition at least that they must placate in some measure the feelings aroused by the attacks of the Conservatives.

The debate on the Dunning Budget illustrated how anxious one party was to escape from any charge of being subservient to the United States and how equally anxious the other party was to make such a charge. The assumption throughout seemed to be that the Canadian electorate would severely punish any party which failed to reveal, in dealings with the United States, a thoroughly self-respecting national attitude. Mr. Bennett in his attack upon the budget still endeavored to give the impression, despite Mr. Dunning's countervailing duties, that the government was subservient to the United States; that its whole behavior in the face of American tariff policy was feeble. "A countervailing duty that is now to prevail in the Dominion of Canada is a policy made in Washington."[39] This remark he repeated in various forms. "It [the government] has handed over to Washington the

38. Debates, 1930, p. 29.
39. Debates, 1930, p. 1678.

power to make our tariff with respect to vital matters by placing upon the statute books of this country for the first time a countervailing tariff."[40] And again:

> Congress makes Canada's tariff. The only difference between the "brick for brick" policy that was laughed to scorn in the country by honorable gentlemen opposite is that in Mr. Meighen's case he proposed to build the brick into the wall himself, but now the United States Congress builds the brick into both sides of the wall.[41]

Most of Mr. Bennett's colleagues pursued the same argument, endeavoring publicly to discredit the government by describing it as being needlessly subservient to the United States. Mr. Stevens disposed of the countervailing duties in the budget as "a feeble response to a nation-wide wave of indignation against the United States' economic penetration."[42] Dr. Manion, after pointing out that the government realized that it must do something to placate popular feeling, attacked the budget as ineffective. He followed Mr. Bennett in describing the countervailing duties as equivalent to importing part of the tariff from Washington.

> Why did not the government take the courageous Canadian attitude and adopt a made-in-Ottawa policy, placing Canada first under all circumstances, instead of bringing down this weak, puerile imitation of a tariff, which, even if it were conscientiously carried out, has little or nothing in it for the workers of this country?[43]

Mr. Hanson remarked that the countervailing duties were "just a feeble gesture" on the part of the government in answer to the policy of the United States. He considered that the attitude of the American government since the Fordney-McCumber tariff was a genuine danger to the economic life of the country, yet the Liberal government had done nothing to reduce the magnitude of the danger.[44] Mr. J. F. White, member for London, considered that the Canadian administration was subservient in face of the

40. Debates, 1930, p. 1679.
41. Debates, 1930, p. 1829.
42. Debates, 1930, p. 1879.
43. Debates, 1930, p. 2019.
44. Debates, 1930, p. 2066.

tariff policies of the United States.[45] Mr. J. S. Chaplin, member for Lincoln, argued that the government was "now ready to abandon their own principles, knowing that the tide of feeling in this country is running against them. They pretend to want to take action against the United States, to put up the tariff against the United States and to reduce the [rates charged under the?] British preference, so that trade may be directed from the United States to Great Britain."[46] He was, however, confident that Mr. Dunning's budget would not achieve its purpose.

As might be expected, the supporters of the government denied any subserviency. Thus Mr. Charles Stewart, Minister of the Interior, said:

> No longer can the cry be raised that our Prime Minister gives more to the United States than he is willing to give to the mother country. That has been one of the statements of the opposition to which I have continually taken exception and to which I take exception today. . . . Let me say in the first place that this budget is a complete answer to every statement which they have made in that connection. It is more than that. It is no mere lip-loyalty on our part. It is not the mere expression of a sentiment. This budget is action. . . . So I say, Mr. Speaker, that our honorable friends opposite can never expect the country to believe their statement that this government headed by the Prime Minister has been more friendly in its attitude in any particular towards the United States than we have always been ready and willing to be towards the mother country.[47]

One of the most significant speeches in the debate was that of Mr. Bourassa. He pointed out that the countervailing duties were demanded "generally by the country"; but personally he was doubtful of the wisdom of retaliation. "But I know that a large and growing number of people in Canada, east and west, in British Columbia, Quebec, Ontario and the Maritime Provinces, are asking for it."[48]

Another matter which aroused sentiments distrustful of the United States was the methods adopted by the American government to prevent Canadians from smuggling liquor into the United

45. Debates, 1930, p. 2095.
46. Debates, 1930, p. 1981.
47. Debates, 1930, p. 1973.
48. Debates, 1930, p. 2123.

States. The case of the *I'm Alone* gave umbrage to those disposed to be suspicious of Canada's neighbor. Mr. Cahan, for example, expressed his irritation with singular frankness in a speech on May 20, 1929. He reviewed extensively the background of law and fact in the *I'm Alone* case and criticized strongly the action of American officials. He remarked that the United States had pledged its honor to one interpretation of a treaty and "now undertakes to sink British shipping on the high seas and to bolster its act of almost deliberate wantonness, by developing an entirely different interpretation of an international convention, which, in its plain terms, does not admit of any such construction."[49] Mr. King, in reply to Mr. Cahan, pointed out that since the *I'm Alone* case had been referred to arbitration, it was impossible for members of his government to discuss the circumstances of the incident. Consequently the debate was not extended.[49a]

The smuggling issue came up again, and, in the course of the next session, Mr. Cahan, followed by Dr. Manion, attacked the government for legislation which, he claimed, was dictated by the United States.[50] The legislation in question (20–21 Geo. V, 19) amended the Export Act, placing a restriction on liquor clearances from Canadian ports to countries under prohibition. In this, as in many other matters, there was an evident conviction among all parliamentarians that the Canadian public disliked to see its leaders accept dictation from the United States. It was generally assumed that sentiment in the country would not tolerate it.

I do not agree [said Mr. Cahan] with the suggestion sometimes made in this House that the United States has been a good neighbor to us, because I think many times officials of the United States have been very aggressive and irritating in dealing with Canada in those international matters which affect both countries. In spite of that fact, as a weaker nation and I think

49. Debates, 1929, p. 2658.

49a. It is possible that the stern pages of *Hansard* give an exaggerated idea of the indignation of Mr. Cahan. I had the good fortune to listen to the debate and remember vividly Mr. Cahan's interjection, "An act of piracy or an act of war!" uttered in the tones of a triumphant debater and not in the accent of horror with which every member of the House would have mentioned real piracy or real war. (Editor.)

50. *See* Debate, March 14, 1930.

on the whole a nation with a better disposition and better manners, we should endeavor to coöperate, in so far as we can with due regard to our self-respect and national dignity, in preventing friction along the border.[51]

Dr. Manion vigorously pursued the same argument, as when he criticized the fiscal policies of the government and obviously with the same purpose of discrediting the government. "There is no doubt that the United States has requested this bill."[52] And then, "This is merely another grand salaam to Washington, another obeisance to the blindfold Goddess of Liberty, another 'don't-provoke-Washington' attitude on the part of the Prime Minister and his supporters. Has this government any Canadian policy at all on any matter?"[53] The keynote sentence was, "There is too much Americanism and too little Canadianism in this government at all times."[54]

Other members of the opposition were as emphatic as Messrs. Cahan and Manion in criticism of the proposed legislation. Mr. Spence, member for Parkdale, remarked: "I object to making concessions continually to the United States; I think we should be getting something for what we are giving."[55] "Canada does not ask the assistance of the United States to prevent smuggling, and that country has no business to ask such concessions of us without granting reciprocal treatment."[56] And Mr. Robinson, member for West Essex, said:

> Probably my sensibilities for the tender feeling of the United States are not so pronounced as those of the Prime Minister, but that may be because I have lived on the border too long. I know many one hundred per cent Americans for whom I have great admiration, but I cannot say that I have the same admiration for the United States as a country or as a nation. I am of opinion that this bill is framed for the interest of the United States to the detriment of Canada, and it will cause great injury to Canadian industry and Canadian working men.[57]

51. Debates, 1930, p. 872.
52. Debates, 1930, p. 876.
53. Debates, 1930, p. 879.
54. Debates, 1930, p. 880.
55. Debates, 1930, p. 880.
56. Debates, 1930, p. 882.
57. Debates, 1930, p. 898.

Mr. King's defense against the charge of acting under the dictation of the United States was based on broad principles:

All domestic business, whether it relates to intoxicating liquors or anything else, is subject to great national concern, and also necessarily subject to great international considerations that in their importance are of world concern. Any business, no matter what it may be, if so conducted that it involves violations of the laws of another country, must to the extent that this may be the case bow to the superior, paramount consideration of the national interest as a whole.[58]

Specially significant was the protest of Mr. Adshead:

It has been suggested by the honorable members that this measure has been brought forward at the instigation of the United States, and that, therefore, the present Liberal government is acting under the influence and dictation of the American government. Similar things have been said in reference to tariff measures, and I must protest that when we cannot agree on certain principles the activity of honorable members should not be expended in endeavoring to show that such things are done at the dictation of the United States. . . . Surely we can discuss these measures upon their merits as they concern Canada instead of saying that our opponents are taking the stand they do at the dictation of the United States. These things make a new member, one who has not been a long time in the House, feel cynical, so that whatever the other honorable gentleman is going to say about this matter, we wonder, when he attributes these motives, whether there is any sincerity in the whole business or not.[59]

In the Senate the legislation was similarly attacked as the product of foreign dictation. Indeed, distrust of the United States was expressed in the Senate with even less restraint. Senator Pope, with Conservative attachments, was hostile to any prohibition of export of liquor. "The United States may promise to coöperate to a certain extent, but I do not know of a single arrangement made with us that they have carried out without a long delay, if they have carried it out at all."[60] He thought that the bill was excessively considerate of American interests, and added, "If the Stars and Stripes are going to be hung up in this chamber—I do not say it is—it will have to be put on the other side [that of the

58. Debates, 1930, p. 612.
59. Debates, 1930, p. 890.
60. Debates (Senate), 1930, p. 27.

Liberals]; we [the Conservatives] absolutely refuse to have it over here. Whenever there has been any weakening on the part of this country towards the United States, it has not been the fault of the Conservatives."[61] "The United States have no friends, internationally, except people that bow to their will. They have no friends on this continent."[62]

Similar language was used by Senator Tanner, who claimed that the American politicians were dictating to the government at Ottawa. "They are not sending us written orders, but they are doing it by constant pressure."[63] And he felt that the more they got, the more they would want. "No matter how much the Canadian spirit is humiliated, no matter how much the Canadian nation loses, Washington must be satisfied."[64] And in a general tirade on American policies, he remarked:

> We [Canadians] are not considered at all; they never think of us. How are we getting along about the diversion of water by Chicago? We have been talking about that for fifteen or twenty years. . . . Talk about friendly relationships and the comity of nations! There is no such thing in the book over there.[65]

The one speech in the Senate most definitely designed to counteract such remarks was by Senator John Lewis, formerly for many years an editor of the Toronto *Globe*. He referred to the charges that in this legislation the Canadian government was subservient to the United States as, "stale political cries of which, I think, everybody ought to be tired by this time." And he maintained that the proposed legislation was not "an act of subserviency, but simply one of self-respect."[66]

Some frank sentiments regarding the United States were also expressed in the discussion of the Multilateral Treaty for the Renunciation of War (Kellogg Pact) in 1929. Mr. Bennett was critical of American political leaders and newspapers for openly talking of war between Great Britain and the United States. It

61. Debates (Senate), 1930, p. 000.
62. Debates (Senate), 1930, p. 127.
63. Debates (Senate,) 1930, p. 97.
64. Debates (Senate), 1930, p. 98.
65. Debates (Senate), p. 98.
66. Debates (Senate), 1930, p. 102.

seemed that Americans in this matter forgot that war against Great Britain was also war against Canada. They did not consider Canadian feelings; indeed, in Mr. Bennett's judgment, they entirely ignored Canada.[67] Mr. King, in a responsible office, formally expressed surprise at Mr. Bennett's utterances and his pronounced distrust of the United States. "There have appeared in some American journals articles of a jingoist character. But that is no reason why my honorable friend need make in this parliament a jingoist speech, calculated to throw a doubt on the good faith of the neighboring republic."[68]

Mr. Cahan shared in the suspicious attitude of Mr. Bennett. He expressed in a later debate his grave concern over the fact that, on November 11, the President of the United States delivered an address in which he spoke first of the necessity of preparation for war on the part of the United States and only later of the need for limitation of armaments and the renunciation of war. So important a newspaper as the New York *Herald-Tribune* reflected a like point of view. Despite peace pacts the United States was determined to achieve American ends by the assertion, if necessary, of force, and it was the gist of Mr. Cahan's speech that Canadians might as well recognize the fact that the United States was not really as sincere or righteous as she appeared to be.[69]

Another type of appeal to Canadian national consciousness was occasionally evident in the debates. It was well illustrated by a speech of Dr. Manion in the session of 1925. In pointing out what he considered to be the ill condition of the country, owing to the action of the Liberal administration, he remarked that so disgruntled was the public that many people would now vote for annexation to the United States.[70] This observation was clearly an overstatement designed to excite the fears of the majority of the electorate and arouse anger against the government by an appeal to national consciousness. The Conservatives professed to stand for politics which would remove all prospect of an annexationist movement. "We [Conservatives]," said Mr. Harris, "have an idea

67. Debates, 1929, p. 27.
68. Debates, 1929, p. 36.
69. Debates, 1929, p. 355.
70. Debates, 1925, p. 158.

that Canada has a destiny, and if that destiny can be worked out, we shall continue to have faith in our country."[71]

V. *The Economic Influence of the United States on Canada.* (By Alexander Brady.)

The "economic penetration" of Canada by the United States was occasionally a subject of discussion in parliament. Two contradictory views were expressed: that, in the influence of American capital and enterprise, there was a genuine menace to Canadian social and national life; and that American capital and enterprise were wholly beneficial to Canada.

Fear of American capital was voiced by the representatives of Labor and by some representatives of French-speaking Canada. However, only three members within the period under consideration made consistent and emphatic pronouncements on the matter: Messrs. Woodsworth, Heaps and Bourassa.

Mr. Bourassa stated his position clearly in the session of 1926:

> Since the war, and largely on account of our war follies, our fiscal and economic régime is now tending to make Canada a field for the investment of American capital. Some people rejoice in that. I do not. I think that there is more danger to the national independence of Canada in the purchasing of our waterpowers, and of our resources of wealth, either in the forest or the mine, by American capital than there is from the fact that some of our industries suffer from the competition caused by American merchandise entering this country.[72]

This penetration of American capital brought other influences: especially the penetration of American social spirit, customs and literature.

> I have already noticed in the Province of Quebec, where industries have been established by Americans and managed by Americans, a new social spirit among the people working for them and living near them. With the penetration of capital is coming the penetration of habits of work, the penetration of social habits.[73]

71. Debates, 1925, p. 2079.
72. Debates, 1926, p. 3523.
73. Debates, 1926, p. 3523.

He admitted, however, that American influence of this kind affected less the people of his Province than those of other Provinces because of their different language, religion, and social traditions. He felt convinced that American influences could be counteracted only by developing in all spheres of life the spirit of Canadian nationalism. "It is not by making people more British that you will prevent them from becoming more American, but it is by making them more Canadian."[74]

The view of Labor was rather different. In 1928, Mr. Heaps, member for North Winnipeg, pointed to what he viewed as the grave implications of American capital in Canada. He deprecated especially the establishment of company towns by American industrialists.

> The creation in this country of these company towns is something new, and something which I look upon with a great deal of disfavor. The men employed by these companies dare hardly call their souls their own. They are almost enslaved body and soul for a wage of from thirty-five to forty-five cents per hour, and Canadians who attempt to enter these places are often prevented from doing so, in spite of the fact that they are natives of this country.[75]

He would prefer to see Canada develop slowly rather than develop rapidly with American capital, because the importation of this capital implied economic imperialism:

> I am not one of those who look with kindly feelings on American imperialism, especially as I see its workings and its implications in Mexico and Nicaragua. I have read statements of United States ministers, high up in the councils of their government, in which they claim that American capital wherever invested is entitled to the protection of the American government.[76]

This claim is of some concern. "There is no telling when we may pass laws that may not be altogether to the liking of those to the south of us, and under such circumstances I can see us getting into a nasty squabble with the government at Washington. So

74. Debates, 1926, p. 3523.
75. Debates, 1928, p. 637.
76. Debates, 1928, p. 637.

long as we have American capital coming here I do not see how we can possibly avoid it."[77] Mr. Woodsworth, at the beginning of the same session, also spoke briefly on the dominating influence of American capital, and expressed his wish that fewer industries in Canada were controlled by it.[78]

In the session of 1929, Mr. Heaps again contended that there was danger in the investment of American capital in Canada, especially because of the remark of President Coolidge that "the person and property of a citizen are a part of the general domain of the nation even when abroad." "When the President of the Republic uses language so emphatic, and we witness the subsequent actions of that country in places like Nicaragua, Haiti, and elsewhere, we in this country ought to be extremely careful before bartering away any of the rights and heritages we may have in this Dominion."[79]

Contrary opinions were expressed by others. Mr. Bennett, then Prime Minister, remarked in his budget speech of June 1, 1931, that there was nothing to fear from the import of American or other foreign capital. "Fear has sometimes been expressed that these outside nations by starting industries in this country or investing capital in various Canadian enterprises, commercial, governmental, financial or other, are obtaining a menacing position in our economic life. The facts of the case reveal these fears to be entirely unfounded."[80] The facts which he then cited showed that the proportion of Canadian to American capital invested in Canadian industries was always substantial. But Mr. Bennett did not really meet the points raised by Messrs. Bourassa and Heaps concerning the social influence of American capital and enterprise, nor did any other member attempt to do so.

Mr. Cahan in the session of 1926 emphasized the advantages of encouraging American branch plants. "We welcome them because they have brought into Canada expert artisans, expert workmen, and they have taught us in all classes of engineering to

77. Debates, 1928, p. 637.
78. Debates, 1928, p. 70.
79. Debates, 1929, p. 1295.
80. Debates, 1931, p. 2164.

become as expert workmen in this country as their workmen are in the United States."[81] And he added:

It is absolutely essential to the future of industry in this country that we should have the assistance of expert artisans from abroad. England started her great manufacturing industries, for instance the woolen industry and the cotton industry, by bringing in experts from Belgium, France, and Flanders. So we have welcomed United States firms which have established branch factories in this country, giving us the use of their experts in technical training, and we have been able to educate in certain industries a large body of our own workmen who would not have had the advantage unless United States firms had established branch factories here.[82]

VI. *Opinions on the Political Relationship of Canada to the United States.* (By Alexander Brady.)

Within the period of this survey no member of the House of Commons discussed so broadly and frankly the position of Canada in relation to the United States and Great Britain as did Mr. Bourassa, who was free from the shackles of strict membership in a political party. In a debate on the work of the Imperial Conference of 1926 he declared:

We are an American nation and always will be such, and on the other hand we are associated with Britain. Whatever the future of the Empire, whatever the future of the other countries of the world, there can be no doubt that Canada will always be a nation in America. Therefore we have in common with the great nation to the south permanent interests stronger and more binding than any political bonds we can have outside America. On the other hand, due to our dual origin and to the maintenance of a French population speaking the French language and maintaining the foundation of the French civilization while absolutely and exclusively Canadian in feeling and British in political tendencies, along with a large population originating in the British Isles and new comers from the continent of Europe, we have here elements of civilization at once European and American which must be the link between the great commonwealth to our south and the more retarded but perhaps more idealistic nations of Europe.[83]

In a subsequent part of this speech, Mr. Bourassa added:

I say that if we are in need of defense we will not find it in Europe; we

81. Debates, 1926, p. 2032.
82. Debates, 1926, p. 2032.
83. Debates, 1926–27, pp. 1692–93.

would do better to have a cordial and worthy understanding with the United States in time of peace and in time of war, and to rely on the United States for the succor which Great Britain will be unable to give us.[84]

Mr. McGibbon here interjected, "Why not have annexation?" Mr. Bourassa continued:

The only way by which we can prevent the absorption of Canada by the United States is precisely by having the best possible understanding with that country. If we continue to do as we have done in the past and build upon dreams, delusions and alliances against nature, upon reliance on racial sentiments legitimate in themselves but insufficient; if we disregard the economic and social conditions which will determine our future policy just as economic and social conditions have determined the policies of European countries, in the last century particularly, one of these days we will wake up in a fool's paradise. It would be far better to maintain a spirit of Canadianism and to prevent the social, economic, mental and moral penetration of Americans into the souls of our young people, and then have an understanding between government and government such as all countries have.[85]

These remarks brought out no response except a bitter personal attack on Mr. Bourassa by Mr. J. W. Edwards, member for Frontenac-Addington.[86] The silence may have indicated distaste for the views of Mr. Bourassa, or even more likely a reluctance to debate such contentious issues. It may be added that, five years earlier, similar views had been expressed by a French-Canadian Senator, Mr. David.

We must not forget that we are not living in Europe; that we live in America; that we are Americans and that our prosperity depends in great part on our commercial relations with the United States and the other countries of America. We must remember that our commercial and industrial relations are bound up with their destinies. Not only must we fear any possible cause of friction between Canada and other parts of the Empire, but we must fear also anything which might cause friction between the United States and Canada.[87]

84. Debates, 1926–27, p. 1693.
85. Debates, 1926–27, p. 1693.
86. Debates, 1926–27, p. 1745.
87. Debates (Senate), 1921, p. 161.

VII. *General Observations on the Parliamentary Debates.*

It might easily leave a false impression in the reader's mind if this summary account of the parliamentary debates in the period 1920–1932 were left without comment. The almost complete avoidance of any serious discussion of Canada's broad relations with the United States; the fragmentary character of the discussion on the minor controversies which arise from year to year; the constant attempt to appeal to popular sentiment inclined to view the United States with suspicion; the occasional note of bitterness; and, perhaps, one should add the low general level of the debating, even when Canada's foremost politicians participated in the discussions, may excite surprise and appear to require an explanation. And yet any explanation must be conjectural. In the day to day life of Canadian political parties men must coöperate whose views on ultimate or fundamental issues are almost diametrically opposed. There would be a distinct want of political common sense in allowing these disruptive fundamentals to bedevil the political scene with hypothetical questions which may in practice never have to be faced. Hence follow certain obvious taboos which have become habitual. Canada's national destiny is rarely discussed except in such general terms as to commit the speaker to nothing at all, but it is always safe to refer to "national thought," "national culture," "national consciousness" or "national destiny," provided no attempt is made to define the meaning of these fascinating phrases. Then there is always a certain degree of popularity to be obtained by a process analogous to "twisting the lion's tail" in the United States.[88] Sinister designs may be attributed to that country in general terms. But there seems to be a feeling that it is hitting below the belt to quote too freely from the less responsible American newspapers, or from indiscreet speeches not seriously directed against Canada. These conventions are obviously inconsistent with any warm feeling of comradeship for the people of the United States; but they are equally inconsistent with any definite fear of American aggression. They are not in the least incompatible with the most intimate friendship with individual

88. It may be added that it is usually the less distinguished Canadian politicians who descend to this practice, although unhappily great names have sometimes been momentarily associated with it.

Americans, nor with admiration carried to the point of envy for American achievement in certain fields.

These general observations are not intended as a fundamental explanation of the attitudes disclosed in the parliamentary debates. They are merely an attempt to show that those attitudes are consistent with the opinions and attitudes which we have recorded in other phases of Canadian life and which we shall have to interpret in the concluding chapter of this book. Then, too, these observations have a second purpose. They are meant as an act of justice to Canadian politicians, whose intellectual and moral calibre cannot, any more than their emotional and artistic abilities, be fairly judged by their parliamentary utterances on the subject of Canadian-American relations, which gives no real scope to their talents.

CHAPTER XV

BOOKS AND REVIEWS

I. *Introduction.*

In examining samples of Canadian daily newspapers, and in following the debates in the Parliament of Canada, we have not exhausted the opinions which have been deliberately recorded concerning the United States and Canadian-American relations. It remains for us to consider the even more deliberate discussions contained in books, and articles in serious reviews, that have been written by Canadians. This is one of the few occasions on which we have an opportunity of finding out the views of people who can be described as intellectuals, and we must, therefore, be on the lookout for currents of opinion that, although not held by large numbers of Canadians at the present time, may become important in the future. Since the outlook of French Canada is being described in a separate volume[1] in this series, our present study will be limited to Canadians who have written in English. As we are primarily concerned with contemporary opinion, little reference will be made to books published earlier than 1910, or to articles published earlier than 1920. In order to avoid overlapping with other studies we are not referring to books which are devoted to historical exposition.

Canadian literature on the subject of Canada's relations with the United States, like Canadian parliamentary debates on the same theme, is disappointing both in quantity and in quality. We do not get from the pens of Canadian writers judicious appreciations of American institutions, searching analyses of American world policy, penetrating discussions of the movements of American thought or, for that matter, much consideration of the aims and objects of Canadian political life, to which the problem of appropriate relations between the United States and Canada must be related. No international bibliography of any one of these topics would contain many titles of Canadian works, nor, if the books were

1. In preparation under the direction of Dr. Edouard Montpetit of the Université de Montréal.

arranged in order of intellectual achievement, would Canadian works rank very high.

Several circumstances must be taken into account in explaining this dearth of material. Neither academic work in Canada, nor literary work as distinct from routine journalism, offers a livelihood to a Canadian who devotes his life to the study of the United States and its people. There is no room in Canada for a specialist on this subject. Universities cannot afford to maintain chairs exclusively devoted to the United States, and it would probably be repugnant to Canadian sentiment to assign the North American continent as a field of study. It follows that Canadians, who are particularly interested in American affairs, are likely to become Americans by naturalization. While Canadian popular opinion is likely to claim these *émigrés* as still Canadian, we cannot take them as representative of the Canadian outlook. In passing, however, it is worth noticing that these denationalized Canadians have been models of discretion. They have made no attempt to instigate an annexationist movement in Canada, nor have they, on the other hand, tried to persuade Americans to modify their political institutions on British lines.

But it is not merely by the loss of many of her most distinguished sons through emigration, that Canada must explain the poverty of her literature about the United States. The United States is so close to Canada and occupies so large a place in the thought of Canadians that they "cannot see the forest for the trees." The details of American life make a greater impression than its totality and nothing is more conspicuously lacking in Canada than a generous recognition of the greatness of the American people, in the sense in which they are one of the great peoples of the world. For sympathetic appreciation Americans must look to Europe, Asia, Africa or perhaps Australia. To Canadians the United States is somewhat out of focus.

With this apologetic introduction we must allow Canadian publicists to speak for themselves. We shall begin by seeing how they explain anti-American feeling in Canada. Then we shall see how far they recognize the common interests of Canadians and Americans. Finally we shall deal with the world outlook of Canada.

II. *Discussion of Anti-American Feeling in Canada.* (Based on a study by Donald Davidson.)

It is natural that Canadian publicists should be concerned with explaining, whether defiantly or apologetically, the prejudices of Canadians against the United States, and that, in some cases, they should seek to combat these prejudices. It is usual to attribute anti-American feeling, in the first instance, to the influence of the United Empire Loyalists and their descendants; and in the second place to the War of 1812. The Canadian people did not think of this war as the outgrowth of the Napoleonic Wars but considered it a reason for regarding the Americans with suspicion and hostility.[2] Indeed, this war has been called the first impetus to Canadian national feeling.[3] American actions during the rebellions of 1837, the Trent Affair, and the Fenian Raids are cited as contributing factors. Boundary disputes are a fertile ground for dissension and the Maine and Oregon boundary settlements are still sore points among certain classes in Canada. The legend that Canada has been "sacrificed on the altar of Anglo-American friendship" in the Alaska Boundary settlement is still debated, and Great Britain shares with the United States the consequent animosity in Canada.[4] The familiar story continues. Writers treat the defeat of the Reciprocity proposals of 1911 as an exploitation of patriotism by the Conservative party, but also as an indication that there was a national feeling to exploit.[5]

In more recent years, the actions of the United States during the Great War have been "a serious blow to the friendship of the

2. J. W. Dafoe, *Canada an American Nation* (New York, 1935), p. 91.

3. W. S. Wallace, *The Growth of Canadian National Feeling* (Toronto, 1927), p. 13.

4. H. L. Keenleyside, *Canada and the United States* (New York, 1929), pp. 70–71; J. A. Aikin, "The St. Lawrence Waterways Project," *Queen's Quarterly*, February, 1932, p. 128; E. E. Braithwaite, "Canada and Her Big Neighbor," *Canadian Magazine*, September, 1922, p. 411; W. Mackenzie, "New Diplomacy," *Canadian Magazine*, November, 1923, pp. 3–13; P. E. Corbett, "Anti-Americanism," *Dalhousie Review*, October, 1930, p. 295.

5. W. S. Wallace, ed., *The Memoirs of the Right Honorable Sir George Foster* (Toronto, 1933), p. 153; A. McPhail, "Conservative-Liberal-Socialist," *University of Toronto Quarterly*, April, 1934, p. 275.

two peoples."[6] The best discussion of the phases of opinion during the war is to be found in Mr. H. L. Keenleyside's *Canada and the United States* (pp. 364–367). The initial phase is described by one writer in very outspoken language:

> During the first two and a half years of the European war, when Canadian volunteers were fighting and dying in Flanders fields, and the United States was clinging to her neutrality, there sprang up in Canada a feeling against the United States, the depth of which Americans will fortunately never know.[7]

The pride of American democracy in its victory was a little hard for Canadians to bear:

> We are not disparaging the effort of the United States, because for the length of time actually participating in the war, she, more than any other nation, made her resourcefulness, her powers of organization and adaptability felt.[8]

This one-sided presentation of the case does not stand unchallenged:

> Canadians assume as a rule that such infractions of neighborliness as took place between the United States and themselves originated south of the line. But it is evident from the correspondence of the leading American statesmen and diplomatists that Canada was often very irritating to them.[9]

Canadian sensitiveness itself is criticized as creating a barrier to clarity of judgment:

> Despite the freedom with which we imitate the American example in many things and the frankness with which we constantly invite and welcome American assistance in various forms, we frequently display an apparently instinctive and peculiarly sensitive readiness to assume that American influences in general tend to be harmful merely because they emanate from

6. Sir Robert Falconer, *The United States as a Neighbor* (Cambridge, 1925), p. 362.

7. W. S. Wallace, "Text-Book Poison in Canadian-American Friendship," *Bookman*, February, 1919, p. 684.

8. G. McLeod, "International Jealousy," *Canadian Magazine*, February, 1920, p. 337.

9. Sir Robert Falconer, "The United States as Canada's Friend," *Current History*, May, 1926, p. 181.

the United States, and that it is somehow patriotic to oppose them. A particular institution or practice or ideal may well deserve condemnation, but does a Canadian hit upon the essential justification for condemning it when he merely damns it with the simple adjective American?[10]

The whole question of anti-Americanism is discussed in an article by Dean P. E. Corbett,[11] which begins by reviewing the more frequent pretexts for Canadian resentment. It notices the irritation caused by such phrases as "manifest destiny" and "an economic annex to the United States," but ridicules the fiction of American annexationist ambitions in 1911. "Many a Canadian, duped then, has come in the sobering interval to rue his vote against Reciprocity." The article urges the inevitability of assimilation between contiguous parts of the same continent, "despite all the efforts of neo-Anglicism," for the native response to identical conditions is beyond artificial restraint. But a reservation to the thesis that "Henceforward Americanization may be anything but deleterious," is made in the case of the administration of justice and the stability of family relations. This reservation is significant for, as we shall see later (p. 404), the Canadian protest against moral dangers from the United States is, relatively speaking, popular and spontaneous, while economic and nationalistic protests require active organizations to set them in motion.

Among the considerations which contribute to anti-American prejudice in Canada we must reckon the belief in the superiority of British political institutions. The contrast between these parliamentary institutions and the presidential institutions of the United States is a classic theme for Canadian patriots.

> The spectacle of two peoples growing up side by side on the same continent with substantially the same conceptions of liberty and justice, with substantially the same ancestry, with the same language and religion, the same literary models, and yet with diverse political methods, is one of very great interest.[12]

It is contended that the adoption of the American constitution of 1787 and the creation of a Canadian confederation in 1867 are

10. R. G. Trotter, "The Canadian Back-Fence in Anglo-American Relations," *Queen's Quarterly*, August, 1935, pp. 394–95.

11. "Anti-Americanism," *Dalhousie Review*, October, 1930, p. 295.

12. W. R. Riddell, *The Constitution of Canada* (New Haven, 1917), p. 120.

comparable events.[13] "The challenging fact is that the British political structure is rooted quite as deeply in the Dominion as the constitution is in the United States."[14] And, therefore, Canadians are apt to speak of their political system as superior to that of the United States. "Canadians very often speak of the irresponsibility that not infrequently attends the conduct of public affairs in the United States."[15] This assertion of superiority can become contemptuous in tone.[16] The result is that "Despite this close contact and community of interests, the people of Canada are imbued with what amounts almost to a passion to maintain their own separate identity."[17]

III. *Common Interests of Canadians and Americans.* (Based on a study by Donald Davidson.)

The annoyance felt at times with the United States is counteracted by close relationships of various kinds.[18] The constant repetition of the unifying influences, language, cultural inheritance, geography, history and economic relations—can be as wearisome as panegyrics of the unfortified frontier, and it is pleasant to find a writer who dismisses them as obvious.[19] But it is perhaps our duty to record some of the panegyrics:

"'Frontiers,' Lord Curzon once said, 'are indeed the razor's edge on which hang suspended the modern issues of peace and war, of life and death, between nations.' But not in North America, thank God."[20] Much stronger language can be used:

Indeed, we are in all but the accident of political allegiance, one people:

13. N. W. Rowell, *Canada a Nation* (Toronto, 1923) (Reprint of an address before the American Bar Association).

14. D. MacKay, "The Americanization of Canada," *Century*, June, 1926.

15. Sir Robert Falconer, "The United States as Canada's Friend," *Current History*, May, 1926, p. 188; also *The United States as a Neighbor* (Cambridge, 1925).

16. As in E. McInnis, "This Insubstantial Pageant," a series of articles in *Canadian Forum*, June, August, September and November, 1929.

17. J. A. Stevenson, "Canadian Sentiment Towards the United States," *Current History*, October, 1930, p. 314.

18. R. G. Trotter, "The Canadian Back-Fence in Anglo-American Relations," *Queen's Quarterly*, August, 1933, p. 392.

19. "R," "Neighbors, A Canadian View," *Foreign Affairs*, April, 1932, p. 418.

20. J. W. Dafoe, *Canada, an American Nation*, (New York, 1935), p. 95.

we have lived together in peace with an international boundary of thousands of miles, for more than a century (may that peace be eternal!), our aims are the same, justice to all under the law, good will to all men, peace and righteousness. With these aims in common, we are working and shall work out our destiny side by side and in much the same way, an example and blessing to humanity.[21]

Of course, in recent years, it is possible to point out that there is no great significance in leaving unfortified a frontier which, even if fortified, could not be made defensible.[22] And, of course, a short unfortified frontier would be more significant than a long one.

This topic may be fittingly concluded with a warning uttered against the tendency of Canada and the United States together to boast of moral superiority over other nations:

There is perhaps a danger in this fiction of the *Pax Americana* that the people of North America may take credit to themselves where credit is not due. If two peoples, sprung from the same stock, speaking the same language, and having similar political ideals, have succeeded in living side by side for a century without coming to blows, their achievements may not necessarily be regarded as bordering on the marvellous. As a matter of fact, peace between Canada and the United States during the last hundred years has never been quite complete or secure. Repeatedly the two countries have been on the verge of war.[23]

IV. *Canada's World Outlook.* (Based on a study by Donald Davidson.)

(i) *Canada's Sheltered Position.*

The effect on Canada's world outlook of her relative immunity from danger of invasion has been frequently discussed. Most Canadians, when they think of foreign relations, think of economic relationships. The questions of defense and political power which absorb an inordinate share of the energies of the European peoples, rarely enter into their heads. The reason is obvious: there is only

21. W. R. Riddell, *The Constitution of Canada* (New Haven, 1917), pp. 149–150.

22. A. R. M. Lower, "The Foreign Policy of the Empire," *Nineteenth Century*, September, 1933, p. 261.

23. W. S. Wallace, "Text-Book Poison in Canadian-American Friendship," *Bookman*, February, 1919, p. 683.

one possible potential enemy who could threaten Canada's national existence, and no one thinks of that country as a potential enemy.[24]

Not only is Canada immune from the danger of invasion. In many circumstances, it is contended, she could count on the positive protection of both Great Britain and the United States. Therefore, her chief interest in world politics is to avoid any conflict between these two powers. "Thus, in war as in most other matters, Canadian interests are necessarily deeply involved with either or both of the great powers—Great Britain and the United States—but, except through them, very slightly with any others."[25] "To put it in another way, Canadians can go out into the international rain if they care to, but when they get drenched they can always scramble back under the Imperial umbrella."[26] "With the double-barrelled protection of the British Navy and the Monroe Doctrine, and Canada's relative inaccessibility to the armed forces of any invader, except those of a neighbor with whom the possibility of war is apt to draw smiles of amused incredulity, Canadians go about their business with a feeling of complete unconcern."[27]

It has been suggested, with a touch of sarcasm, that Canada's lot is even happier than these quotations would indicate. Canada, it is said, is essentially interested in maintaining the *status quo*, which permits the great land-owning nations to enjoy the full advantages of the natural resources which they have monopolized and enables them to keep the landless or "proletarian" nations in their places. This result can be achieved either by a collective peace system controlled by the possessing states or by great armaments. Canada can enjoy the protection of the peace system for what it is worth and, if it fails, then the protection of two powerful states to whose armaments bill she contributes nothing; and at the same time Canada can denounce the very armaments by which she is protected and claim that her low military budget

24. A. R. M. Lower, "The Foreign Policy of the Empire," *Nineteenth Century*, September, 1933, p. 260.

25. A. Shortt, "The International Position and Prospects of Canada," *Proceedings of the Canadian Political Science Association*, II, Ottawa, 1930, p. 62.

26. "R," "Neighbors, a Canadian View," *Foreign Affairs*, April, 1932, p. 418.

27. "T," "Canada and the Far East," *Foreign Affairs*, April, 1935, p. 391.

is evidence of a peaceful disposition unhappily rare. It is this sheltered position that Canada is asked to abandon if she supports the creation of a collective peace system flexible enough to permit of the peaceful satisfaction of the reasonable demands of landless states.[28]

However this may be, "It is almost platitudinous now to state that Canada's position becomes impossible if Great Britain and the United States drift apart on any major issue."[29] If Canada should engage in war with the United States, says one writer, it is hard to think of Great Britain coming to Canada's aid; but if Great Britain and the United States were to go to war, Canada would be the battleground.[30]

(ii) *Canada as an Interpreter between Great Britain and the United States.*

But it is not very pleasant, and certainly not optimistic, to think of Canada as destined to cry in futile despair, "A pest on both your houses." Nor is it pleasant to think of Canada as enjoying a twofold protection and contributing nothing in return. The case can be stated more agreeably: "We" [Canadians] "occupy . . . a peculiarly favorable place as an intermediary and there is almost no limit to what we can accomplish together."[31]

Perhaps the most flattering commentary on Canada's rise to nationhood has been the frequently repeated description of her as an interpreter and intermediary between the United Kingdom and the United States. It has become something of a platitude in Canada and Great Britain, and may become so in the United States, whereby no great harm will be done, because, like most platitudes, it contains a good deal of truth.[32]

28. H. F. Angus, "Canada and a Foreign Policy," *Dalhousie Review*, 1934–5.

29. "T," "Canada and the Far East," *Foreign Affairs*, April, 1935, p. 393. Cf. Sir Robert Falconer, "The United States, Canada's Friend," *Current History*, May, 1926, p. 181.

30. A. R. M. Lower, "The Foreign Policy of the Empire," *Nineteenth Century*, September, 1933, p. 261.

31. E. E. Braithwaite, "Canada and Her Big Neighbor," *Canadian Magazine*, September, 1922, p. 414.

32. J. B. Brebner, "Canada, the Anglo-Japanese Alliance and the Washington Conference," *Political Science Quarterly*, v. 50, p. 45.

The consequences of this recognition of Canada's nationhood have been seen in many ways:

> The fact that the United States have at last accorded ungrudging recognition of our right to choose our path of freedom within the British Commonwealth, rather than outside it after their own example, has made it incomparably easier for us in Canada to accord due importance to the history of the Republic. We now know and admit that a knowledge of our neighbor's history is essential to a true understanding of our own, and that appreciation of the traditional bases of American ideals and prejudices is needed if we are to live next door to them with permanent satisfaction. We realize that without such knowledge we cannot hope to play adequately the rôle of interpreter between American Republic and British Commonwealth for which our country has been cast by history.[33]

But this view is qualified by a warning, by the same writer. "There has been too much talk about Canada's rôle of interpreter, or rather the talk has been too often merely self-complacent and congratulatory."[34] And the view that Canada is destined to act as an interpreter has called forth some protests:

> After-dinner speakers on Anglo-Canadian-American topics often give Canada the rôle of interpreter of the United States to Great Britain and of Great Britain to the United States. One may be pardoned for being somewhat skeptical of the reality or impressiveness of this contribution to Anglo-American good will. Great Britain has her own interpreters, and hardly needs the services of Canada in this regard. The part that the Dominion can play in Anglo-American relations is rather that of making certain that the policy of Great Britain with respect to the United States will always be guided by the recognition of the impossibility of Canada's position if her neighbor and her Mother Country should drift apart on vital issues.[35]

(iii) *Canada's Political Identity.*

Strong as the bonds with the United States may be, there is no

33. R. G. Trotter, "Canadian Interest in the History of the United States," *Queen's Quarterly*, Winter, 1929, pp. 96–97.

34. R. G. Trotter, "The Canadian Back-Fence in Anglo-American Relations," *Queen's Quarterly*, August, 1933, p. 393.

35. "R," "Neighbors, a Canadian View," *Foreign Affairs*, April, 1932, p. 419.

longer any serious question of political union between the United States and Canada.[36]

Goldwin Smith believed that the boundary fence between Canada and the United States had been arbitrarily run and was unlikely to stand long. Obviously he did not foresee that there would by and by be so much of the North American idea from which, for our own sake and for the sake of the world, we should want to try to save ourselves, most particularly from its isolationism, and that the only way to do that, however paradoxical it might seem, was to preserve the political boundary on our south, since to allow ourselves to be swallowed up politically would mean severing our country dangerously from the old world and cutting the last organic connection between the larger political societies of the two hemispheres.[37]

On the other hand, absorption in a greater Britain is generally considered out of the question. "The British influence has weakened through the generations and now requires stimulation by its advocates. . . . As a new and greater Britain, Canada is irretrievably lost."[38] Canada's salvation is said to lie between the two countries:

In point of fact her [Canada's] power of taking independent action would actually be less under any form of separation than it is now. To borrow a metaphor from the ancient fable, she would only exchange the rule of King Log for that of King Stork. Whether or not she became formally annexed to the United States—and American policy would probably prefer her to retain a nominal independence—she would be compelled to accept the general direction of Washington upon all the more important issues of foreign policy.[39]

36. As a curious incident, we may cite a resolution of the National Association of Marine Engineers in Canada, passed November 28, 1925, "That this body ask the Government of Canada to take steps towards opening negotiations with the Federal Government of the United States of America, with the object of the annexation of Canada by the United States. . . . In our opinion there is no other solution for our many problems, as eventually Canada will be, by her own request, annexed to the United States, we ask, why not now?" Cited by M. Howley, "Canada, British or American?" *Living Age*, 330, p. 439.

37. R. G. Trotter, "The Canadian Back-Fence in Anglo-American Relations," *Queen's Quarterly*, August, 1933, p. 389.

38. D. MacKay, "The Americanization of Canada," *Century*, June, 1926, p. 191.

39. P. E. Corbett and H. A. Smith, *Canada and World Politics* (Toronto, 1928), p. 169.

For all that, one of the joint authors of the book from which we have quoted points out, in an article written three years later, that there is a strong trend towards the United States:

> Very few Europeans can distinguish Canadians from citizens of the United States, and the Englishman is no exception to the rule. Being called Americans will probably continue to annoy us, but there is an increasing number who accept calmly the realization that the distinction has for most purposes become imperceptible. We share with our neighbors a common character which is North American, and the majority of us, though the fact is indignantly denied, are far more at home in the United States than in England. The battle against Americanization, ineffectually but loudly waged by some entirely sincere patriots, is dying down. The mass continues to respond in a North American fashion to North American facts, and over and above this element of uniformity, to mimic the speech, thoughts, manners and methods of the Yankees.[40]

For the most part Canadians are inclined to congratulate themselves on occupying an intermediate position between Great Britain and the United States, and to believe that they can develop a strong individuality of their own by using the influence of each of these countries to neutralize that of the other. But there are obvious dangers. We have noticed the hypothetical danger of a conflict between Great Britain and the United States. Another peril is that of a great war in which Canada might have to elect between supporting the Empire and separating herself from it, in which case subordination to the United States would be her lot.[41]

(iv) *Canada and the Monroe Doctrine.*

Reliance on the Monroe Doctrine as a protection in certain contingencies is freely admitted by Canadian writers, particularly when they explain Canada's views as to participation in Imperial defense:

> We stand accused of depending upon the Monroe Doctrine, and we may without shame admit some truth in the accusation. If, in contemplating defense needs, we left entirely out of account the probable attitude of the

40. P. E. Corbett, "The New Canadianism," *Contemporary Review*, October, 1931, pp. 482–483.

41. E. Reid, "Canada and This Next War," *Canadian Forum*, March, 1934, p. 162.

United States, we should be singularly foolish. Why go to the expense of arming to cope with dangers against which our geographical and political situation provides adequate protection. Monroe Doctrine or no Monroe Doctrine, it is clear that the United States would be bound to use every means to prevent a footing being gained on our territory by any Power even remotely likely to make the attempt.[42]

This is a general Canadian belief, which is freely expressed:

Washington never mentions it; Canada can scarcely bear to think about it, for it ill becomes her pride; but it appears to be a fact nevertheless that the United States would not allow a foreign invader to set foot on the shores of her northern neighbor.[43]

Indeed, the reliance of Canada on the United States is obvious—we have only to imagine the unqualified withdrawal of the prospect of American help and think how Canada's behavior would change, to appreciate the extent of the reliance:

Suppose that . . . the United States develops the policy of complete neutrality which is in the air, by abandoning its unilateral system of collective security, called the Monroe Doctrine, and by solemnly declaring that in no circumstances will it go to war unless its own territory is invaded or its nationals in foreign lands ill treated. Canada's position would be transformed overnight and Canada would be in danger of becoming the weakest of the sectors by which Japan is encircled.[44]

This discussion of the Monroe Doctrine may have two objectives. It helps to explain why Canadians, unlike most peoples in the world, are almost unconcerned about the question of national defense, and to justify this feeling of security. It also serves as a point of departure for examining Canadian policy and Canada's relation to the Empire on the one hand and the United States on the other. Canada, for instance, may be justified in contributing very little to imperial defense on the ground that her risks are less than those of other parts of the Empire. It is less usual (perhaps because it is less congenial) to consider whether Canada incurs any obliga-

42. P. E. Corbett, "New Canadianism," *Contemporary Review*, October, 1931, p. 481.

43. "R," "Neighbors, a Canadian View," *Foreign Affairs*, April, 1932, p. 420.

44. H. F. Angus, "Canada and Naval Rivalry in the Pacific," *Pacific Affairs*, June, 1935, p. 182. The article outlines Canada's alternatives in the events supposed.

tions towards the United States by accepting the shelter of American armaments. Is there, for instance, an obligation to coöperate with the United States?

> Many people understand this necessity of avoiding conflict. Not so many, I think, admit the positive necessity of active and frank coöperation with our neighbor in the administration of common interests on this continent and elsewhere. . . . There is, it seems to me, a totally unnecessary amount of suspicion in our approach to problems connected with the joint Canadian-American exploitation of our North American patrimony.[45]

Perhaps a fear of recognizing an obligation is at the root of a suspicion, of which there are other indications. Canada, for instance, has not joined the Pan-American Union. She is said to be dubious of participation in a debating society in which Uncle Sam occupies the critic's chair.[46]

(v) *Canada and the League of Nations.*

If the protection of the Monroe Doctrine involves a bond with the United States, Canada's membership in the League of Nations involves a bond with a wider circle of nations. Canadians can rationalize their position in the world in one of three ways, or by some compromise between them. Canada may be considered as permanently committed to membership in the British Commonwealth of Nations, or as primarily a sovereign state which, as a member of the League of Nations, accepts certain limitations on her sovereignty in common with other members of the League, or Canada may be considered as a sovereign state in North America which would be wise to liquidate as rapidly as possible any commitments outside that continent.

Canada's position in the League of Nations is said to have important results.

> This means, if it means anything, that Canada has now not only achieved a national consciousness, but has won from the rest of the world—not even excepting the United States—the recognition of this national consciousness.[47]

45. P. E. Corbett, "A Foreign Policy for Canada," *The Liberal Way, A Record of the first Liberal Summer Conference,* (Toronto, 1933), p. 134.

46. R. Ayre, "The Spirit of Nationalism," *Canadian Forum*, April, 1927, p. 195.

47. W. S. Wallace, *The Growth of Canadian National Feeling* (Toronto, 1927), p. 7.

Writers are proud of the fact that Canada may be said to represent the North American continent at Geneva; and of Canada's having been a member of the Council of the League of Nations. A balanced view—we may venture to call it the orthodox view—is that

> Canada is British and French, it is true, and remains loyal to certain sentiments and certain obligations that her origins entail. She is also North American, but above all she is Canadian, and there does not appear to be any possibility of her Canadianism being lost in a North Americanism.[48]

But this is not the only view, North America has its charms.

> The Canadian people would be mad if once more they helped, as they did in 1914, to pull the French chestnuts out of the fire. . . . George Washington's advice to his countrymen, a century and a quarter ago, is still good advice for Canadians; friendship towards all, but entangling alliances with none. . . . Whatever Canada's destiny is going to be, it is certainly not that of the continent of Europe.[49]

It is when the imperial tie, or membership in the League of Nations, appears to involve a risk of war that some Canadian writers are most insistent that Canada should adopt an isolationist policy based on strict neutrality (except, perhaps, if the United States is a belligerent).[50]

> American journals have been full in recent months [as from July, 1935] of discussions of this theme [North American isolation]. But, in Canada, there is a persistent silence; and in our circumstances, with entanglements both in the League of Nations and in the British Empire, silence really means casting your vote for Canadian participation in the next European war. If we don't discuss the possible alternatives before the fever of war is sweeping over us, we shall have no alternative at the critical moment but to succumb to the fever.[51]

48. "R," "Neighbors, a Canadian View," *Foreign Affairs*, April, 1932, p. 420.

49. A. R. M. Lower, "The Foreign Policy of the Empire," *Nineteenth Century*, September, 1933, pp. 262–263.

50. Isolationism has two meanings for the United States, but three for Canada. For the United States it may, or may not, include the Monroe Doctrine. For Canada, it may mean the isolation of Canada and the United States as a North American unit, or the isolation of the British Empire including Canada, or the isolation of Canada from all countries including both members of the British Empire and the United States.

51. F. H. Underhill, "Review of *Canada, an American Nation*, by J. W. Dafoe," *Canadian Forum*, July, 1935, p. 301.

Professor Underhill's complaint is that in indicating "the possibility of the emergence of a common isolationist attitude on the part of the North American nations against the outside world—North America *contra mundum*, not in an aggressive but in a defensive sense," Mr. J. W. Dafoe did not develop his suggestion.

The alternative policy might, of course, be more idealistically described than in the sentences we have quoted. It might be represented as a wish to play a worthy part in the political organization of the world on a permanently peaceful basis, an end so desirable that it justifies serious risks and makes it a duty to persist in the face of disappointment, or even of disaster. A subtle debater might contend that the career of George Washington, to whose specific advice so much weight is attached, would, if it were considered as a whole, be an inspiration to follow this course, rather than to seek immediate immunity from military dangers.[52]

(vi) *North Americanism.*

Membership in the British Commonwealth of Nations and the League does not altogether preclude North Americanism. Indeed, North Americanism is a useful concept because of its very vagueness. It stands in somewhat the same relation to Annexation as the concept of Dominion Status does to Imperial Unity. Both indicate acceptance, up to a point, of the historical and geographical relationships of Canada, on terms consistent with national self-esteem. Both are sufficiently vague to afford good cover for the compromises which they conceal.

In the case of North Americanism the compromise is not primarily political. It extends to social and economic spheres:

> Socially, however, the annexation of Canada by the United States has been passively accepted. Now it is almost complete, and it is probably the strangest anomaly in the history of any two nations. Politically Canada has moved towards a definite national objective; socially it has drifted. The social and political history of the Dominion have split like the dividing

52. A statement of the view that Canada should urge Great Britain to pursue a League of Nations policy, rather than seek refuge in armed isolation, which Canada might decline to share, is contained in J. W. Dafoe, "The Foreign Policy for Canada," *Queen's Quarterly*, Summer, 1935, p. 161. This was written before Great Britain expressed whole-hearted support of the League in the Ethiopian crisis.

stream on the broad watershed of the United States. Undeniably the social fabric of Canada is being woven in an American pattern. The same exuberant Americanism which established Rotary Clubs in London has saturated the everyday life of Canada.[53]

This view is not generally contested, but it is not universal. Some writers believe in a distinctively Canadian culture:

There is a distinct conflict of ideals in the two countries, for on the one side there is a feverish hustle and hunt for material progress and prosperity —the pursuit of the almighty dollar—and on the other side, the consciousness that more of value in the life and conduct of a country will be attained by sustained effort. In the one case is to be seen a people with a deep and abiding faith in the home and home life—and so this people are home makers; and in the other, a people who, often mere exploiters, are ever ready to make a financial turn—to sell the roof tree to the highest bidder, and move the family on to new pastures.[54]

From Jiggs to the Ford car, the American nation is standardized, thinks one writer, and this is one of the greatest dangers to Canada.[55]

The obvious influences are cited by various writers. They are, for the most part, concerned with the use of leisure time: motion pictures, radio, periodicals, sport, motoring, service clubs and secret orders. But they extend to more intellectual pursuits: learned societies, social work conventions, universities, churches and libraries. The only difference between Canadian and American universities, we are told by one writer, is that heads of American universities are alive to their problems while those of Canadian universities are not.[56] The suggestion is that in academic matters the stability of the ostrich is not really a sign of greater courage and calm in the face of danger than the agility of the hare.

It is remarkable that while American periodicals are often mentioned as an important cultural influence in Canada, American

53. D. MacKay, "The Americanization of Canada," *Century*, June, 1926, p. 190.

54. "Politicus," *What Is the Matter with Canada?* (London, no date, but later than 1924), p. 36.

55. R. Ayre, "The American Empire," *Canadian Forum*, January, 1927, pp. 105–106.

56. F. H. U., *Canadian Forum*, April, 1931, pp. 253–255.

books (with an exception for textbooks) are not. A survey of serious Canadian periodicals leaves the impression that American books do not receive that share of attention which other evidences of North Americanism would lead us to expect, for the number of reviews of American books is not great. Several explanations are possible and they do not exclude each other. The accessibility of American publications may make it unnecessary for Canadian periodicals to discuss American books; on some subjects, such as popular economics, the English books are much better than the American, because the American writer is irresistibly attracted by the market for textbooks, and a high proportion of American readers seem to do their more serious reading for university credit; and the book-reading public may have a somewhat greater resistance to Americanization than the public which buys periodicals.[57]

The economic influence of the United States might also come under the term, North Americanism. It is odd that it is not extensively discussed in Canadian periodicals. The investment of American capital is almost the only phase of economic relations to receive much attention. One writer thinks the British heritage so strong that this investment is not likely to lead to political interference.[58] Another uses violent language in commenting on the address of an American senator to the American Paper and Pulpwood Association:

> It begins to look as if the people of Canada were raw material to use as pulp—as if the latter [Americans] have come to regard themselves as the potter and the Canadians as the clay. . . . This imprudent legislator reminds this country that American capital has poured into Canada; and apparently he would indicate that, as Americans pay the piper, Canadians must dance the tune. It might be as well did we remind this contumelious candidate for popularity, that while we in Canada may be a small popula-

57. This suggestion may seem fantastic, but it is corroborated by the statement of an important lending library in Vancouver, B.C., that it did not pay to stock American novels, even when they had good reviews in English papers. Customers picked up the books and then rejected them on the ground that they were by Americans. These customers were not English, but "Eastern Canadian," a term which in British Columbia includes Ontarians.

58. J. M. Van der Hoek, "The Penetration of American Capital," *Canadian Forum*, August, 1926, pp. 333–335.

tion, we are not helots; and that we do not propose to have our forests butchered to make American pulp days or Metropolitan dailies.[59]

(vii) *Comment on American Policies.*

American policies do not pass uncriticized, although surprisingly few of the more serious Canadian periodicals devote much space to them. Both the *Queen's Quarterly* and the *Dalhousie Review* comment on current events and incidentally on American developments. In the latter review, for instance, Prohibition has been sharply criticized (January, 1924) and so have blue laws in general; scorn has been poured on the ineffective measures adopted against crime (October, 1924); anger has been expressed over the penetration of American influence and models into the journalism of Canada (April, 1926); the dominance of the mob-mind in American politics has been ridiculed (October, 1924); and the pedantry and egotism, sentimentality and lack of insight of Woodrow Wilson were the objects of satire (April, 1924). But the opposite views were not denied expression. A glowing panegyric of Woodrow Wilson was published (April, 1924); the prohibitionist case was presented (April, 1924); and the refusal of the United States to join the League of Nations was explained, though not by a Canadian.[60] Finally, United States abstention from the League of Nations was explained as due rather to the conflict between the Covenant and the Constitution than to lack of enthusiasm for world peace. (July, 1922.)

There has been some discussion of the New Deal, mainly with respect to the applicability of like principles or like measures in Canada. At the first Liberal Summer Conference in 1933, a number of papers were devoted to this topic.[61] It is interesting to note that at the Conservative Summer Conference, these subjects were not discussed.

59. "Politicus," *What is the Matter with Canada?* (London, no date, but after 1924), p. 10.

60. A. N. Holcombe, "Americanizing the League of Nations," *Dalhousie Review*, October, 1921, p. 281.

61. W. A. Harriman, "The American N.R.A. in Operation"; T. W. L. MacDermot, "The Significance for Canada of the American 'New Deal'"; R. Moley, "The Meaning of the N.R.A."; all three in *The Liberal Way* (Toronto, 1933).

V. *Conclusions.*

No one who has had the patience to read the excerpts from the Canadian daily newspapers which have been given in Chapters XI–XIII can help being struck by the contrast of the steady flow of adverse or even hostile criticism of the United States and of American policies offered to the Canadian public in the newspapers, and the caution and moderation which, on the whole, mark the more formal writings of Canadian publicists. Sneers are as frequent in the daily press as they are rare in books, reviews and magazines. Equally striking, if rather less edifying, is the silence of the more formal writers both on topics on which Canadian opinion is apt to condemn the United States and on the factors which make the United States one of the greatest nations in the world.

There are various explanations of this contrast. In the first place, to a degree that it may be difficult for foreigners to understand, Canadian publicists are on their good behavior. They are perhaps more often than not, in the books and articles which we have examined, addressing a public whose prejudices they wish to overcome or whose susceptibilities they wish to spare. Often they are writing for an English public of which they conceive as in need of gentle disillusionment; often for a public of Canadian imperialists which they wish to persuade that it is living in an unreal world; often for an American public in addressing which *toute vérité n'est pas bonne à dire.* Many of the articles were used as addresses on formal or ceremonial occasions. Others were designed to present Canada in a favorable light abroad. This does not necessarily mean that the writer was addressing foreigners directly. Even if he wrote with Canadians in mind, his public did not consist of typical Canadians but of intellectuals or would-be intellectuals who are apt to be sensitive and to resent anything likely to create a bad impression in other countries. In Chapter XIX we notice the readiness with which people whisper, "We must be careful what we say about the United States, so-and-so is an American." In such a *milieu* the moderate and precise statements of a critic may hurt much more than the vulgar and violent abuse which seems less deliberate and less intentional. Perhaps it is not too fanciful to say that if you denounce a neighboring people for interested reasons, and not quite sincerely, when political exigencies demand

it as they are likely to do if the tariff is an issue, you feel that sensible people with politics and a tariff of their own will make reasonable allowances; while, if you go on to make carping criticisms when you have no financial interests at stake, you are being unpardonably offensive. Then, too, for most Canadian writers on such subjects, letters are a secondary occupation. They have their careers to think of, and cannot afford to lose a reputation for tact and discretion. Nowhere has the *enfant terrible* a worse public than in Canada. To be "outspoken" or to "tread on people's toes" is a matter of reproach. Caution, like the wearing of clothes, becomes a matter of habit, and to display the naked truth may come to be shocking like a reckless exhibitionism. Finally, Canadians know that, whether they like it or not, they have to live side by side with the United States. It is futile to find fault. After all, Canadians realize that they might have a much worse neighbor, and that if they are offensive or even tactless in what they say, their neighbor may become much worse than he is.

There is still another explanation which accounts, in part at least, for the relatively small space devoted in Canadian publications to a discussion of the United States and its policies. Canadian readers do not want to read that sort of thing in a Canadian magazine. If they want information about the United States, or a discussion of the problems of that country, they prefer to get it from more authentic sources in American periodicals. Canadian periodicals, they feel, should devote themselves to Canadian problems, which are indeed so numerous and so pressing that no one's energies need be unemployed. But prejudices reinforce reason on this point. There is a loss of dignity in paying more attention to the United States than the United States pays to Canada; and people who subscribe to Canadian periodicals, in part from patriotic motives, like to feel that they are subsidizing a worthy cause, free from any suspicion of being an Americanizing influence.

Thus in many ways Canadian books, magazines and reviews are disappointing sources of information as to what Canadians think of the United States. In our next chapters we must try to probe into the mass of opinions which are less articulate and can be brought to light only by observation of behavior, by interviews and questionnaires.

CHAPTER XVI

THE EVIDENCE OF THE SCHOOLS

I. *Introduction.*

We have now gone as far as formal expressions of opinion are likely to take us and must now rely on the more personal evidence which can be collected by the interview and the questionnaire. In turning to the schools for evidence of what Canadians think about the United States and of their attitude towards that country, we have no difficulty in securing frank expressions of opinion from all parts of Canada. But we must be careful not to exaggerate the value of the evidence which we obtain. School children are not an altogether fair sample of the community. Few of them, for instance, show traces, as their parents do, of their country of racial origin. They all belong to a group which, since society is at great expense to further its instruction, is generally believed to be in some degree less competent to form intellectually respectable opinions than are members of the adult community. The opinions of the schoolboy are not expected to be those of the grown man. To some extent, too, as adults optimistically believe, school children are influenced by the opinions which they hear, and are likely to be a sounding-board for the views of parents or teachers. But the views which a child hears may repel as well as attract and neither parents nor teachers possess the psychological *expertise* necessary to enable them to dominate completely the outlook of the children who are wholly or partially under their control. Finally the pupils in high schools are presumably of more than average intelligence and enterprise.

Two methods have been employed to find out what school children think. In the first place, Professor H. F. Angus in British Columbia and Mrs. R. F. McWilliams in Manitoba have asked the teachers for their opinions as to the general outlook of the children whom they have opportunities of observing. In the second place, a questionnaire was submitted by Professor F. H. Soward to matriculation classes in English-speaking high schools and private schools throughout Canada: and another by Mrs. R. F. McWilliams

to children in rural schools in Manitoba. In submitting these questionnaires, it was possible to obtain a good deal of information about the influences other than those of home and school to which the pupil was exposed and to discover his taste in motion pictures, radio programs and periodical literature. (*See* Chapters V–VII.) As the schools were representative of various territorial areas, and as they were in some cases divided on lines of sex or class, it has been possible to make some useful comparisons between them.

II. *The Opinion of Teachers in British Columbia.* (By H. F. Angus.)

We have already had occasion to use a questionnaire answered by forty-one prominent teachers in British Columbia. (*See* pp. 108–118.) They were asked to say what opinions the children under their observation held, and whether they thought the opinions expressed by the children were their genuine opinions. Their answers are important in two ways: they are evidence of what the children appear to think; and they are evidence of the attitude of the teachers. (*See* Chapter IV.)

It seems clear that the general atmosphere of the schools ranges from indifference towards the United States to positive friendliness, though there is a distinct current of hostile comment varying from scornful mockery to rational criticism. The teachers have a professional tendency to judge the attitudes of the children in addition to recording them, and to assume that any departure from the correct attitude of friendliness must be explained by something for which they themselves are not answerable. Thus they attribute the hostile comment to home influences. There is, indeed, general agreement that children from some English homes, and wide agreement that children from some Scotch homes, too, show marked prejudice against Americans. It is the description of the "hostile" English homes which is interesting. "Middle-class" is the term used by the teachers, but it may mean almost anything, for the aristocracy do not emigrate in large numbers and those of their offspring who percolate into high schools in British Columbia must be few indeed. The "lower classes" are, by convention, never mentioned and it is not at all clear what humbler people the teachers wish to exonerate from the charge of anti-American bias.

At the very most they mean the group which they might call "labor."

But the current of hostile comment must not be over-emphasized. It is distinctly described as a minority opinion. Specific criticism hardly goes beyond the words "boastful" and "grasping" which we have met with elsewhere (pp. 11 and 115) and are destined to meet again (pp. 375–377). Only in a private school for girls do we find the phrase, "fairly active antagonism." Indeed, the hostility detected by teachers is very mild. Several teachers write of a feeling of "superiority." Now no democracy can be imagined which would set out to teach its children that their social and political behavior was inferior to that of their neighbors. Nor could any nation be expected to praise its neighbors without also setting out the qualities in which it thought itself superior. There is an almost universal tendency to ridicule whatever is strange and unfamiliar and to confine one's references to other peoples to the unusual qualities which one observes in them. If grown-up people learn a becoming reticence it is largely a matter of refinement, good breeding or critical training which are hardly to be looked for in school children. "Jealousy" is another attitude which is mentioned. It seems inevitable. The United States is the usual standard of comparison for Canadians (*see* Chapter XIX); there is no alternative standard—no other country with which Canadians feel that they are well acquainted; and there can be no question of abandoning the comparative method in the schools or in conversation.

The children's opinions are accepted by the teachers as genuine. No one accuses them of appearing friendly when they are really hostile, unless the remark that they would be intensely patriotic in a crisis is to be understood in this sense. But those who examine the hostile comments express the view that these are superficial and are made as a matter of habit. The criticisms yield readily to experience through personal contact and, apparently, even to reasoning.

III. *Opinions of Teachers in Rural Schools of Manitoba.* (By Mrs. R. F. McWilliams.)

Somewhat similar questions were asked of twenty-four teachers in schools in Manitoba chosen so as to give a broad sample of the

rural communities in that province. Four schools were in "Anglo-Saxon" communities in different parts of the Province; two were in French-Canadian communities; two in Ukrainian areas; one in a Mennonite, one in an Icelandic, and one in a Swedish district; seven were in areas of great racial mixture. Eleven teachers out of the twenty-four thought that there was practically no opinion about the United States among the pupils in their schools and that the general attitude was one of indifference. Other views which are expressed seem to be based on general probabilities rather than on observation and are not supported by the questionnaires submitted to children in the same schools. (*See* pp. 378–381) Thus we are told that pupils of Anglo-Saxon stock are more tolerant in outlook than those of other races; that pupils in the north know less about Americans and care less, while in the south "Americans are accepted as a matter of course as friends and neighbors with kindred interests"; or else that Canadian children are slightly prejudiced against the United States by history teaching; that children who live near the border "resent the superiority-complex of our neighbors"; or that "those who have never been to the United States have no desire to live there, whereas those pupils who have been there express a desire to live in the United States." One of the best corroborated views is that there "tends to be prejudice against America as a place to live because of lawlessness as pictured in newspapers. General friendliness to Americans as people."

IV. *What Periodicals School Children Read.* (By F. H. Soward.)

The material used in this and subsequent sections is taken from questionnaires addressed to 1,288 high-school pupils of the matriculation grade and 347 pupils of the same grade in thirteen private schools. In both cases the average age lay between 16 and 17 years, though it was rather lower in the private schools than in the public schools.

The first three questions asked for a list of the American, Canadian and English newspapers which the pupil read,[1] and the fourth question asked him to name his favorite magazines. From

1. These questions were asked at a time when American publications were penalized by the tariff. *See* Chapter VII, section IV.

the answers it appeared that 40 per cent of the boys and girls in high schools read no English periodicals at all. The percentage was not, of course, uniform throughout the country. In Charlottetown, Prince Edward Island, it was as high as 73; in Windsor, Ontario, 60; in Saskatoon, Saskatchewan, 59; in Ottawa, Ontario, 56; in London, Ontario, 51; in Victoria, British Columbia, and Vancouver, British Columbia, the percentage of pupils who read no English periodicals fell as low as 28; in Calgary, Alberta, it was 27.5; and in Kingston, Ontario, it reached its lowest point at 24. In the private schools, however, only 20 per cent of the pupils in the matriculation classes read no English periodicals.

Less than four per cent of the high-school pupils and less than one per cent of the private-school pupils read no American periodicals.

The disparity between the circulation of American and English periodicals becomes more marked when the numbers which are at all widely read are considered. Thus only three English magazines or newspapers were read by more than 10 per cent of the high-school pupils; while thirteen American and seven Canadian publications had as high a proportion of readers.[2] In the private schools the

2. Periodicals read by 10 per cent or more of 1,288 pupils in matriculation class in High Schools included in survey:

English:	
Punch	265
Daily and *Overseas Mirror*	192
Illustrated London News	152
American:	
Liberty	623
Saturday Evening Post	351
National Geographic	243
Popular Mechanics	220
Good Housekeeping	197
McCall's	186
Cosmopolitan	172
Movie Magazines	161
Reader's Digest	152
Pictorial Review	141
Chicago *Herald*	138
Collier's	133
Literary Digest	131

(*Continued on page 367*)

figures were higher. Five English magazines and two newspapers, sixteen American periodicals and seven Canadian were read by more than 10 per cent of the boys and girls.

The three English publications which had attained a fairly large circulation in the high schools were *Punch*, the *Daily Mirror* and the *Illustrated London News*. Of these, the first has been marketed vigorously by the largest Canadian magazine corporation, the MacLean Publishing Company; the second is a tabloid newspaper with a special Overseas edition; and the third is an expensively illustrated weekly often read in school or public libraries. No one of these three periodicals seems to have much success with juvenile Canadian readers. When it came to voting for favorite reading the best showing was made by *Punch*, which received 56 votes. In no Canadian city was any English periodical ranked among the three leading favorites. In addition to the three already mentioned and the *Strand* magazine, almost all the English publications, which were read, were schoolboy or schoolgirl magazines or specialized "hobby" magazines, such as *Needlecraft*, *Motor*, *Aeroplane*. Then there were mentioned some 35 local newspapers, no doubt subscribed for by parents who wished to keep in touch with the communities from which they had migrated.

English publications had better success in the private schools. Half the pupils read *Punch*, and 18 per cent chose it as a favorite. Only *MacLean's* surpassed *Punch* in circulation. The *Illustrated London News* was read by more than *Liberty* and by as many as the *Saturday Evening Post*. In seven of the private schools more English periodicals than Canadian were read. A possible explanation of these preferences is to be found in the presence of English, or English-trained, masters in the private schools.

In the high schools American publications were widely read.

Canadian:

MacLean's	723
Toronto *Star* and *Star Weekly*	349
Canadian Home Journal	329
Chatelaine	283
Montreal *Standard*	221
Canadian	147
Canadian Geographic	129

In no center were fewer than thirty American magazines and five newspapers mentioned. In Kingston every pupil read some American periodical. In eight other cities not more than two avoided American publications. In many cases an American Sunday newspaper developed a wide regional circulation based on Boston, New York, Buffalo, Detroit, Chicago or Seattle. In general the similarity of reading matter throughout Canada was remarkable. *Liberty*, which costs only 5 cents and which is now published in a Canadian edition, was read by almost 50 per cent of the pupils. The *Saturday Evening Post*, although the tariff has forced it to double its price in Canada, was read by 30 per cent. "Quality magazines," such as the *Atlantic Monthly*, *Harper's* and *Scribner's*, have few readers, and journals of opinion, like the *Nation* and the *New Republic*, like their English counterparts, have none. Motion-picture magazines are widely purchased. The *Reader's Digest* held ninth place.

When favorites were named, a Canadian magazine, *MacLean's*, received the votes of 27 per cent of the high-school pupils, but the only other publications named by more than 10 per cent of those who replied to the questionnaire were American, namely, *Liberty* with 21 per cent, and the *National Geographic* and *Popular Mechanics* with 11 per cent each.

The private schools show somewhat similar preferences, if allowance is made for the greater buying power of the typical pupil. Thus the *Saturday Evening Post* was more read than *Liberty*, the *Reader's Digest* rose from ninth to fourth place and tied with *Esquire*, a publication which did not appear on the high-school lists. *Time* and *Fortune* were read by over 10 per cent of the pupils. *Vanity Fair*, the *New Yorker* and *Vogue* were mentioned. The "quality magazines" and the radical weeklies did not secure greater support. The New York *Times* replaced the Chicago *Tribune* as the most widely read newspaper.

Canadian publications, with the exception of *MacLean's*, though they have built up a reading public, are not rated highly among the favorites.[3] Nor were they any more fortunate in the choice of

3. High School Figures:

MacLean's	340 votes
Liberty	272 votes

favorites by private schools.[4] It is worth noticing, in a country which sometimes claims to be bilingual, that no French-Canadian publication secured an appreciable number of readers in English-speaking schools, whether public or private.

V. *What Radio Programs School Children Hear.* (By F. H. Soward.)

In Canada, ability to listen to the radio program of one's choice depends much less than freedom to read what one will upon the possession of wealth. No less than 93 per cent of the high-school pupils questioned listened to American radio programs. When they were asked to state which programs they liked best, the pupils in Halifax divided their preferences among no less than 79 programs, while those in Windsor named 73. In no center were less than 16 programs mentioned. Throughout Canada seven programs received the preference of at least 10 per cent of the pupils.[5] Six of these combined comedy and popular music, with the faintest tinge of the lightest classical music played by Rubinoff or some other favorite. It is, perhaps, too soon for the Canadian Radio Commission programs to have made much impression. At any rate they were barely mentioned and in several cities the superiority of United States programs was acknowledged. The cities most interested in such programs as those of the Metropolitan Opera Company, Radio City, the New York Philharmonic, the Boston

	National Geographic	154 votes
	Popular Mechanics	152 votes

No other periodical received 10 per cent of the votes cast.

4. Order of choice of favorites in private schools:

Esquire
Illustrated London News
Punch
MacLean's

No other periodical received 10 per cent of the votes cast.

5.	*Chase and Sanborn* (Cantor)	478 out of 1,288
	Symphony and Opera	171
	Fleischmann (Vallee)	171
	Ford Merrymakers	157
	Woodbury (Lombardo—Burns and Allen)	139
	Lucky Strike (Jack Pearl)	137
	The Bakers (Joe Penner)	133

Symphony, and the Philadelphia Symphony were Montreal, Toronto, London and Victoria. Educational talks were distinctly not popular, but plays and sport broadcasts had a substantial following.

The private schools showed similar tastes, though their preferences were more diversified and only four programs commanded the preference of more than 10 per cent of the listeners. These were Symphony and Grand Opera; Chase and Sanborn (Cantor), Woodbury (Lombardo—Burns and Allen), and Fleischmann (Vallee) in the order named.

VI. *What Motion Pictures School Children See.* (By F. H. Soward.)

The matriculation candidates were next asked to say whether they preferred English or American motion pictures and to state briefly the reason for their preference. The American pictures won by a vote of 811 to 356 and carried every high school except Kingston, where they were defeated by a narrow margin (40 to 33). They received their largest majority in Victoria, British Columbia —a city referred to in tourist literature as "a bit of old England"— where the vote was 61 to 12.

The reasons were not hard to find. The technical efficiency of the American pictures was praised and the power of Hollywood to attract the best actors from all parts of the world was emphasized. But 150 based their preference for American films on the setting which presented conditions more familiar to Canadians, and 144 preferred the American voice to the English, which many found hard to follow. Against this latter vote must be off-set a dissentient minority of 49, who preferred the English speech and voice, a minority of which almost half came from Kingston, Ontario. The common belief that American humor is more readily comprehensible to Canadians than English humor was not supported by the rising generation, which divided its preferences so as to favor American humor by the narrow majority of 93 to 79. Halifax and Ottawa gave the strongest votes for American humor, London, Ontario, and Winnipeg were the partisans of English humor. In Montreal the vote stood at 11 to 9 in favor of English merriment. The chief reason for preferring English motion pictures, namely, "their higher moral and cultural standard," is a curiously severe

judgment for adolescents and may represent a willingness to echo the words of their elders. At any rate, no less than 125 high-school pupils recorded this preference.

In the private schools the greater popularity for American films was less overwhelming, though clear enough. The vote stood 204 to 103. Stress was laid on the superiority of the acting. Those who based their choice on speech and voice gave the English the preference by the narrow majority of 17 to 16. Choices based on humor were equally divided. Those who preferred the English films tended to give the quality of the acting as the reason, though 26 applauded their moral tone. This vote was relatively smaller than that given in the high schools. Two explanations are possible: greater moral tolerance may go hand in hand with greater wealth; or the higher proportion of males in the private schools may be reflected in a larger view on questions of public morality.

VII. *What School Children Think.* (By F. H. Soward.)

(i) *Qualities in which one country is superior to the other.*

The next two questions invited candidates to state any ways in which they thought Canada superior to the United States and any ways in which they thought the United States superior to Canada. We have seen elsewhere (pp. 111–113) that a selected group of teachers was distinctly reluctant to express opinions on the first of these questions. But less than 10 per cent of the pupils left it unanswered: a much larger number—308—avoided the second question.

The main respects in which Canada was believed to be superior to the United States are what we should expect: 460 said "control of crime"; 374, "law and justice"; 336, "banking policy"; 314, "government and politics." Next in order came two grounds of superiority which possibly reflect the teaching of the schools: abundance of natural resources received 181 votes; and education 167. The superiority of Canadian education was upheld in every Canadian city and received its strongest support in Windsor, the city most likely to have first-hand knowledge of American conditions. But there were dissenting minorities, especially in Charlottetown and Montreal, which thought education a matter in which Americans were superior.

No sacrifice of national pride was involved in conceding superiority to the United States in manufactures and industry by 230 votes, or in transportation and aviation by 148, and silence on these points indicated nothing more than lack of imagination. It was more significant that 129 thought Americans superior in such qualities as progressiveness, resourcefulness, and energy. No other grounds of praise united 10 per cent of those questioned.

The difference in the quality of the answers of the adolescents in the private schools would be highly significant if we were engaged primarily in a study of social classes in Canada. There was very little national bias—distinctly less than in the high schools. The two grounds of Canadian superiority which were open to suspicion on the assumption that teaching had been influenced by national or professional pride—abundance of natural resources and education—were not emphasized in the private schools. Nor were these schools as enthusiastic as the high schools over the superiority of Canadian banking. However, they seemed much more concerned over American lawlessness and more than 10 per cent of the pupils said a good word for the Canadian police. They admitted American superiority in transportation by rail, water and air, and in manufacturing, but were less ready to praise American energy, resourcefulness and progressiveness. They took safer ground in conceding American superiority in armaments, a point that did not occur to the high-school pupils.

(ii) *Naming most prominent citizens in each country.*

It was felt that some indication of the outlook of young men and young women on the social, political and economic life of the two countries might be obtained by asking them to name the three most prominent living Canadians and the three most prominent Americans. Only three Canadians were selected by more than 10 per cent of those who answered this question. They were the Prime Minister, Mr. Bennett; the Leader of the Opposition, who had been Prime Minister for nine years, Mr. King; and the Governor-General, who is, of course, not a Canadian in the sense in which the investigator who asked the question expected this term to be understood. Mr. (now Sir) E. W. Beatty, President of

the Canadian Pacific Railway, received 125 votes; and Dr. (now Sir) Frederick Banting, the only Canadian winner of a Nobel Prize, received 97. Various hockey players secured between them 53 votes. Apart from national political figures it was common to find that "favorite sons" were given the largest votes in each city. There was nothing surprising in this, but there were some votes which the teachers would, no doubt, have liked to delete, for Canadians who had been dead for ten years were mentioned and English statesmen and men of letters figured on the lists.

The private schools, too, voted for Mr. Bennett and Mr. King, but they gave the former a majority indicative of a strong political preference. Sir E. W. Beatty and Sir Frederick Banting secured the 10 per cent vote which the high schools denied them. Mr. Hepburn, Premier of Ontario, and Mr. H. H. Stevens, of the Price Spreads Commission, had gained in prominence since the high schools had voted. The Honorable Howard Ferguson received a substantial vote. There was the same tendency as in the high schools to vote for local heroes, who now included the Dionne quintuplets, their parents and their doctor. But tombs were not despoiled and heroes were not imported.

The high-school pupils found no difficulty in naming prominent Americans. There was general agreement that the three most prominent were President Roosevelt, Henry Ford and Colonel Lindbergh, though Halifax gave second place to Al. Smith and Winnipeg to ex-President Hoover. On the total vote Hoover received fourth place and John D. Rockefeller fifth. Thus of the five who got more than 10 per cent of the votes, only two were connected with politics. Substantial votes were given to Al. Smith, Al. Capone, General Johnson, Mrs. Roosevelt, and Mayor La-Guardia. Movie stars received 78 votes, radio stars 99, and athletes 60. American nationality was erroneously attributed to a number of distinguished men, including Einstein, Marconi, Noel Coward and Bernard Shaw.

The vote in the private schools taken some months later was not significantly different. John D. Rockefeller was advanced to fourth place and General Johnson secured 10 per cent of the vote cast. The rise of new notables received recognition and votes were

cast for Senator Nye, the Dupont family, Upton Sinclair, Commodore Vanderbilt and "Dizzy" Dean.

(iii) *Preference for country in which to live.*

To test the opinion that young Canadians expect to feel thoroughly at home in the United States, the boys and girls were asked where they would like to live, if they could not live in Canada. England, Ireland, Scotland, Wales, the United States, France and Australia were suggested, but it was possible to substitute the name of any other country. The voting was as follows:

The United States	482
England	338
Australia	171
Scotland	76
France	65
Ireland	27
New Zealand	24
Italy	11
Switzerland	10
Palestine	9
South America	7
U.S.S.R.	7
Wales	6

and there were a number of scattered choices. In only three cities —St. John, Kingston and London—was England given a small majority over the United States as a place in which to live one's life. In Saskatoon a majority of nearly four to one was accorded to the United States, and in Toronto, Calgary, Vancouver and Victoria a majority of more than two to one. The heavy vote given to Australia and the insertion of New Zealand—countries of which few of the boys and girls can have had much knowledge—came as a surprise to the investigator. Perhaps they represented an attempt to have the best of both worlds by retaining British citizenship without being condemned to the lower standard of life which is believed to prevail in the British Isles.

The boys and girls in private schools showed a distinct preference for living in the British Empire and even gave to England a small majority over the United States. None of them indicated a wish to live in the U.S.S.R.

(iv) *Desirability of greater contact.*

A straw vote on the question, "Should we welcome in Canada more American capital?" gave the following results:

Yes 546 No 650 No answer 82

The strength of the would-be borrowers lay in Halifax, St. John, Toronto and Windsor. But all the private schools except one favored the importation of American capital.

A question similarly framed with respect to American settlers also gave an inconclusive result:

Yes 654 No 551 No answer 83

Only four private schools gave majorities in favor of more immigration from the United States.

The vote on the desirability of more American culture, which was explained to include literature, films, music and ways of living, was no more decisive:

Yes 648 No 578 No answer 62

On this question, as on the others, the private schools dissented from the high schools, for they opposed the extension of American culture by a small majority. Even in the high schools a majority against such an extension was found in many of the older cities: all the cities in the Maritimes; Sherbrooke, London, Ottawa and Winnipeg.

(v) *Outstanding American characteristics.*

The boys and girls were next given a list of adjectives and were asked to underline the three which they thought most suitable for describing American characteristics. They were free, if they chose, to add to the list. The results showed remarkable unanimity of opinion and a distinctly friendly attitude. The adjectives selected by 10 per cent or more of those answering the question—and all but five of the 1,200 pupils did so—were:

Boastful	973
Friendly	850
Democratic	471
Generous	402
Resourceful	373
Grasping	293
Lawless	256

Unusual adjectives were:

Law-abiding	54
Snobbish	51
Modest	17
Unfriendly	17

A good many alternative adjectives were suggested, most of them of a friendly nature, but none was chosen by any considerable number of pupils.

In choosing adjectives to describe the attitude of Canadians towards Americans, the same friendly spirit was shown by equally emphatic majorities. The results were:

Friendly	1,018
Imitative	840
Admiring	423
Sympathetic	382
Suspicious	251
Jealous	216
Hostile	85

The private schools showed, if anything, a still more kindly spirit. They placed "friendly" before "boastful"; "generous" before "democratic"; "lawless" before "grasping." In describing Canadian attitudes the adjectives were arranged in the same order as in the high schools except that "jealous" received more votes than "suspicious." But "hostile" secured the support of over 10 per cent of the pupils.

The next two questions asked the matriculants to say what they liked most and what they disliked most about the American people. A large number left these questions unanswered. Those who did answer cast a 40 per cent vote for "friendliness," the quality which secured the first choice in every city, and a 10 per cent vote for "generosity." Other qualities which received substantial recognition were, "hospitality," "progressiveness" and "frankness." In interpreting the percentages it must be borne in mind that each boy or girl could name several qualities so that a vote for one amiable quality did not necessarily impair the chance of others being mentioned. The same freedom was allowed in listing detestable qualities and 46 per cent of the pupils expressed their dislike of "boastfulness." It must have been a *cri du cœur*, for many

appended a statement of their reasons which were based on experiences while traveling in the United States and on their observation of American tourists in Canada. The vote in Windsor, the city in closest contact with American neighbors, was overwhelming in support of this charge. And variants of "boastfulness" appeared among the other disagreeable qualities which were mentioned.[6]

The private schools praised American "friendliness," "generosity" and "hospitality" and denounced "boastfulness," "lawlessness" and "poor sportsmanship."

It appeared from another question that 480 boys and girls thought that they knew more about the United States than about any other country except Canada, while 650 were confident that they knew at least as much about the United States as about any other foreign country. In the private schools even larger proportions of the pupils expressed these opinions.

VIII. *Direct Contacts of School Children with the United States.* (By F. H. Soward.)

From the final question in this survey it appeared that 8.5 per cent of the high-school pupils in the matriculation classes had resided in the United States for six months or longer. Of these the largest groups were in Victoria, Montreal and Vancouver. Almost 54 per cent had visited the United States, though most of these had not gone further than the nearest border city. In Windsor the percentage reached 90 and in Vancouver 85. In Charlottetown it fell as low as 5, and in Saskatoon and Regina it did not exceed 25. But the number who had visited the United States was smaller than the number who had relatives or friends there. Over 61 per cent had relatives, while rather fewer had friends. In Charlottetown

6. Out of 1,288 pupils 222 did not answer this question. From the 1,066 who did answer the following opinions were received:

Boastfulness	592
Lawlessness	118
Superior manner	112
Attitude to Canada	96
"We won the war"	52
Poor sportsmanship	33

no less than 93 per cent of the high-school pupils had relatives in the United States and in Toronto, Kingston, Montreal and Windsor more than 70 per cent had relatives there. In London alone did the percentage drop below 50 and there it stood at 44.

These figures drive home the irresistible conclusion that nowhere in the world could be found a school population with anything like the opportunity of knowing another country by first-hand evidence which Canadians enjoy in respect of the United States. It remains to be examined whether this conclusion has any significance beyond leading up to curiosity why Canadian educational authorities have not thought it desirable that such fruitful sources of partial information as the American periodicals, the radio, the movies, travel and correspondence with relatives should be supplemented by balanced instruction in order to avoid the creation of a very distorted picture of Canada's important neighbor. (*See* Chapter IV.)

IX. *Rural Schools in Manitoba.* (By Mrs. R. F. McWilliams.)

The survey which was made in Manitoba concerned rather younger children in rural schools. Grades 7, 8, 9, 10 and 11 were included in order to examine age groups corresponding to those in city high schools, which, in Manitoba, comprise the three highest of these grades. Out of 811 pupils, 624, or 76.94 per cent, were born in Manitoba and had lived there all their lives. Very few were of American origin, and even of these a considerable portion belonged to families which had migrated from Europe to the United States and after a brief sojourn there had moved on to Manitoba.[7] But in most schools there was a small admixture of American children. When asked whether these American comrades differed from other school children in any way, an overwhelming majority of the other children said "No." Those who did detect a difference mentioned speech or boastfulness as a distinguishing characteristic.

7. In the case of 22 families (28 children) one or both parents could be described as Americans speaking English. The parents of 27 children, though they had lived for a time in the United States, were of European origin and spoke a language other than English in their school days. In the case of 23 children, one or both parents spoke English at school though they were of continental European stock. There were 33 children of Anglo-Saxon stock, whose parents had lived in the United States as immigrants.

Surprisingly few of the boys and girls had visited the United States.[8] Those who had done so spoke of Americans as "sociable" or "friendly" and of American schools as better equipped than Canadian schools but less efficient. A probable explanation of the latter judgment is that American children on transferring to Canadian schools would find some difficulty in fitting into the grade corresponding to the one they had left, because of some differences of emphasis on the subjects of instruction. Americans are also praised as "good sports," a phrase which the investigator understood to mean that they devoted more time to games, and organized their sports better, than do rural Canadian schools. Finally there is some adverse comment on the lack of Sunday observance in the United States.

The question "Would you like to live in the United States, and why?" proved unexpectedly ambiguous, for many of those who said "Yes" added reasons which showed that it was only a temporary residence which they contemplated. Some thought economic conditions were better in the United States than in Canada, and some were attracted by the prospect of a warmer climate. Others wished to be with relatives in the United States. But, even counting those who thought favorably of a short visit to the United States, only 28 per cent of the children expressed a wish to live there. Many of the others displayed a "patriotic" attachment to Canada and said "I prefer Canada" or "Canada is a better country." Others expressed a rather negative preference based on abhorrence of crime: "too much crime"; "too many kidnapings"; "too many murders." Quite simply the United States is an unknown country which attracts those who are curious and repels those who are timid.

Of 597 pupils who indicated their taste in radio programs, 63 per cent placed American stations or programs first on their list. It seems that the chief attraction of the radio is musical. "Old-time tunes," dance music and jazz are the most popular varieties and the Manitoba government station is much appreciated for a programme, "Round-up Rangers," which features barn-dance music.

8. In marked contrast with the pupils in city high schools in Ontario and British Columbia.

From a question which asked the boys and girls to state what impressions they had gathered from newspapers about the people of the United States and about conditions in that country, it appeared that no daily newspapers were received in many of the homes, though almost all bought a magazine or a weekly newspaper. The dominant impression about the United States was that it was a land of crime, inefficient police and poor law enforcement. This impression is sometimes communicated in extreme language. "The people are mostly interested in robbing, murders, committing suicide, etc." was the comment of a boy of German extraction. A contemporary of British extraction addicted to reading *True Story* and *Hollywood* finds American eroticism excessive, "They are desperate from love; commit suicide from love; a 'hot' lot." Other currents of opinion conceive of Americans as rich people with a high standard of living; or as progressive people fertile in new ideas. Generally speaking, American magazines are widely read and the tastes in such reading are much the same as those recorded in the city high schools (*see* pp. 365–370).

Pupils were asked to state the national origin of the friends they liked best and the country which they would prefer to live in. There was no correlation between the two answers. Only in three cases in which the intimate friends were American was United States the preferred country. Only 18 per cent of those who answered this question (or 14.5 per cent of those to whom it was addressed) chose the United States as a country of residence. The boys and girls of British origin tended to choose some other part of the British Empire as their desired home if Canada were denied them.

No less than 95 per cent of the children said that they would be glad to correspond with people of their own age in the United States—a desire which, if it is reciprocated, might easily be gratified. It indicates a spirit of friendly curiosity, adventurous enough, apparently, to risk an exchange of letters with a future gangster.

When the boys and girls were asked if they would like to admit more Americans to Canada a majority replied in the negative, chiefly for economic reasons which would have been equally valid had any other country been concerned. They thought jobs were hard enough to get today. Another set of answers indicated

apprehensions of a political character: "They would want a republic"; "They would not observe our laws"; "They would not be loyal to Canada." A boy of Ukrainian-Polish ancestry said, "They always talk about the United States and forget about our country." A boy of American parentage gave the same reply, "No, because it would change the national spirit of Canada." An Irish-American said that "it is better to follow along British lines." An English-Polish reader of *Liberty* said: "From what a person reads they seem improper people to associate with." Indeed, moral distrust exists side by side with political fear. A French-Canadian asserted that "They have no moral standard." Others said that Americans have "the wrong attitude to life."

The minority which desires to admit more Americans is very large (opposed, 42.5 per cent; favorable, 33.5 per cent; indifferent i.e. silent, 24 per cent). Among their reasons three main ideas appear: Americans are more like Canadians than any other people; they are progressive and usually bring money with them; their presence will lead to better international understanding and so prevent war.

As in many other studies there appears to be a fundamental difference in attitude towards individual Americans who are known personally and the American people thought of as a nation. Towards the former the attitude is friendly and the harshest reproach which is made is "boastfulness," but the latter inspires a vague fear which we shall have to analyze in Chapter XIX. And a taste for reading sensational American publications can co-exist with a contempt for the American morals portrayed in them. There is nothing extraordinary in this. Anglo-Saxons who in the nineteenth century thought the French a very immoral people often enjoyed a week in Paris and so acquired an undeserved reputation for hypocrisy.

X. *Conclusions.*

There is no reason to doubt the sincerity of the school children, though it is possible that in some cases a teacher may have exercised an influence on a number of replies. The evidence illustrates the tone which prevails in Canadian schools. It may perhaps be described as a mild nationalism directed mainly against the

United States, and a mild internationalism in thinking of more distant countries.

But the salient fact is that the Canadian citizens of the future are being brought up in closer contact with the life and culture of a politically foreign country than any other children in the world. It is not within the power of governments to change this fact, but it is within their power to accord intelligent recognition to it. Such recognition, if it were accorded, would take the form of including in the school curriculum instruction designed to correlate and organize the varied impressions which Canadian children pick up about the United States. The practical question is not whether it is desirable for children to learn about the United States or not. An age of innocence in this respect is no longer possible. Nor is the question really connected with that of the desirability of teaching American children about Canada. The plain fact is that the great majority of Canadian school children do learn a great deal about the United States and that knowledge on this subject which is spotty, piecemeal, or mixed up with vague impressions and, too often, with unreasonable prejudices is a poor equipment for citizenship in Canada.

CHAPTER XVII

OPINIONS AND ATTITUDES IN ENGLISH-SPEAKING QUEBEC

(By S. Delbert Clark, with assistance from C. A. Dawson and E. C. Hughes.)

I. *Introduction.*

The peculiar position of the English-speaking community in the Province of Quebec and the groups into which it can be divided on racial and religious lines have already been indicated (pp. 40–41). The study of opinions and attitudes within this community has been based, in the main, on interviews with some seventy people, who were thought to be representative and who were expected to be communicative.[1] In these interviews specific questions were not asked unless they appeared to be necessary to secure a balanced statement. Naturally, few of those who were interviewed had well-organized, or even consistent, opinions about the United States. About certain things they had quite definite feelings, about others vague impressions, and about still others they had notions as to what one ought to think. When they were asked to make statements it was often irresistibly tempting to support their views by citing well-known facts, or to justify their feelings by relating them to a conventional picture of the United States. It is partly for this reason that it is easy to arrange the opinions which were expressed under a few general headings and so to convert what is primarily a regional study into an account of the way in which conventional or standardized opinions arise and persist. In this, as in other studies, the reader must bear in mind that there are two elements in public opinion of which no account has been taken. On the one hand, broadminded and well-informed opinion does not lend itself to description, and, in Canada as elsewhere, it is not numerically important. On the other hand, there is probably a great mass of opinion which takes the world as it finds

1. The allocation of front page space in the newspapers of this community has been discussed, pp. 263–170.

it and is able to consider even such a phenomenon as the United States of America without the help of ready-made generalizations.

II. *The "Insularity" of the United States.*

The United States forces itself on the attention of many Canadians who realize that their own community is vitally affected by what takes place there. To some extent Canadians are obliged to form opinions about the United States and, as we have seen, they have in American periodicals and in their own newspapers, in the movies and on the radio, as well as in direct personal contacts with Americans, ample material on which their minds can work, even if they never attempt any sort of systematic study. Americans have, of course, neither the same incentive nor the same opportunity for acquiring knowledge about Canada, nor indeed about any other country. Canadians do not usually make adequate allowance for these facts and are apt to resent American indifference to Canadian affairs and American ignorance of Canada, and to sneer at American "insularity." Of the resentment we have had many examples. In its more sophisticated form it finds expression as a condemnation of the tendency of Americans to regard the United States as their whole world. "The World's Fair was not really a world's fair, it was distinctly an American fair, although they did bring in exhibits from other countries. . . . The world to the majority of Americans is their own domain over which flies the Stars and Stripes." Case 3.) The same view appears in a letter to the Montreal *Star*, September 5, 1931, "'News of the World' (appearing in American news films), nine out of ten of which show happenings in the United States, in which the average Canadian has no interest, the tenth picture being possibly a British or foreign view. This is the 'News of the World' as brought to us from Hollywood." And it has been pointed out that the "World Series" in baseball is purely American. "The World referred to is nothing but the United States. It sounds, I suppose, so much more glorious to win a world series than it does to win a national one; but it is hardly honest with oneself. . . . It takes more than our vast neighbor to make a world." (Montreal *Daily Star*, October 10, 1931, p. 12, under the heading, "Omnibus by Straphanger.") These remarks

disclose an attitude which is not altogether dispassionate, for Canadians are ready enough to speak of the "world hockey series" when American *and* Canadian teams are engaged, and to use the term "International" when "North American" would be more appropriate.

In one way or another a very large number of those interviewed commented on American ignorance of Canada. As an example was mentioned the suggestion by an American that Sir Wilfrid Laurier would be the next Governor-General. "You see, they have absolutely no conception of our government, nor of the traditions which are part of our everyday life."[2] (Case 1.)

This supposed insularity of Americans is explained in various ways: by the great size of their country which makes it possible for them to travel extensively without seeing foreign lands (Case 23); by its economic self-sufficiency, and the preoccupation of its citizens in the pursuit of wealth (Case 1); by its educational system, which teaches the American child "so much about his native land that, for him at least, no other countries exist" (Case 24 and also Cases 20 and 21—interviews with teachers), and which develops a form of narrow nationalism (Case 16—interview with a teacher).

We are concerned here neither with the validity of these explanations nor with the question whether Americans really are "insular." We must, however, attempt to explain why some Canadians are quick to make this charge against their neighbors and why the idea of insularity excites resentment rather than laughter. Perhaps there is a certain mortification in feeling that, for some purposes, Canada and the United States are not equals and that Americans can afford to disregard Canadians while Canadians cannot afford to disregard Americans. And those Canadians who might feel ashamed of envy or jealousy take refuge in attempting to justify their annoyance. In the course of this attempt they often go much further than minor fault finding and make use of a standardized or conventional picture of Americans.

2. The incongruity lay, of course, not entirely in a Canadian being Governor-General, but in the (then) Prime Minister considering such an appointment a promotion. Sir Robert Borden, an ex-Prime Minister, was seriously discussed as a possible Governor-General.

III. *The Stereotype of the American People.*

Since the United States is a vital factor in Canadian life, such a picture has become established in the minds of many Canadians as a sort of working hypothesis which may form the basis of action. This picture is not based on personal experience, although any experience which tends to corroborate it is likely to be remembered. Often Americans who are personally known may be hard to reconcile with the standardized Americans and, in interview after interview, this incongruity was expressed in some such phrase as, "I like Americans individually but not collectively" (Case 17, similar views were expressed in Cases 29, 32, 6, 20, 21, 12, 18 and 16); or in a sharp distinction between the better class of Americans and the others (Case 23). Of course, Americans themselves make much the same distinction and frequently irritate Canadians by calmly disclaiming any feeling of national responsibility for the behavior of various elements in their national life: the Negroes or those who lynch them, the Irish, the Hearst Press, or even the politicians. But while the American who distinguishes the minority from the mass thinks of the minority as bad and the mass as good, the Canadian is apt to select a minority as good and to condemn the mass. It is interesting to notice that precisely the opposite view is common in Canada when England and Englishmen are under discussion. The prevalent conception of England is highly favorable and it is often a shock to Canadians to find that cultural differences are something of a barrier to social contact with Englishmen. Paradoxically the very similarity between Canadian and American culture makes it particularly convenient for Canadians to disparage Americans, for they can attribute to American influences any qualities which they dislike in Canadian life and the antipathy of the older generation for the ways of the younger may find expression in denunciation of the United States.

Certain traits come to be looked on as typically British or Canadian, others as typically American. The former include a certain conservatism, respect for law and order, patience, a high sense of moral responsibility, frugality and perhaps puritanism. Americans, in contrast, are described as "easy-going," irresponsible, and highly emotional. "They are attracted by anything of a

sensational nature." (Case 21.) "I often think of them as children, they love parades, public elections, public heroes, anything spectacular. We Canadians are more conservative." (Case 8.) "They go in for noise and excitement, anything for a public show." (Case 22.)

This view is continually reinforced by written evidence which has every appearance of being authentic. The large American cities are better supplied than Canadian cities with "yellow" journals which cater to the desire for the sensational, and Canadians secure their "spicy" reading from American sources. Canadians followed the Hauptmann trial, but they had to turn to American publications for the best account of it. Canadian scandals are less copiously reported and it is therefore easy to think of Canada as relatively free from degrading occurrences. Even those who read with evident relish the more sensational American newspapers will express their scorn of American sensationalism. "I think that the Hauptmann trial is an example of what one may expect of American courtroom procedure. Anything for a public show." (Case 22.) Such a demonstration, it is claimed, would not attract Canadians (Case 8). "The showing of the Dionne parents on a stage in Canada would not attract a crowd."[3] (Case 15.)

The Hauptmann trial, as we have seen in Chapter XIII, afforded abundant opportunity for derogatory comment, and the authentic accounts of the trial were bad enough to make Canadians ready to believe the most exaggerated gossip. The Dionne quintuplets were, of course, born in Canada, but many Canadians were quick to attribute to Americans almost all that was vulgar and sordid in the publicity which they received. The suggestion was that crudities which readily come to the surface in the United States are kept in repression in Canada. "Public censure, if I may so call it, comes down to us from leaders in our community. The masses of the American people, however, have no truly élite circle to whom they look for guidance." (Case 24.)

3. The comment of an American reader of this chapter was that some of the occupants of the Canadian cars among the ten thousand cars parked in Callander on a week-end would probably be glad to satisfy their curiosity by the less costly and less tiresome way of viewing the principals on a stage if the opportunity were open to them.

The supposed American tendency to mass excitement and popular fads is believed to extend to new ideas and personalities which are readily seized on and made into public issues, such as the Soldiers' Bonus (Patman) Bill, the Townsend Plan, Huey Long, Father Coughlin. "The ebb and flow of attention directed to major issues," writes the Washington correspondent of the Montreal *Daily Star* (September 26, 1931), "is one of the most astounding features of American political life. . . . Whether the condition is organized or accidental, the United States clearly leads the world in the number of issues it can become concerned about in any given period—and leads even more notably in the number it can forget." One of those interviewed said:

> The American people are daring and enterprising, very ambitious and experimenters, whether it is in matters of business, politics or religion. Anything is better than what they now have, that is a popular belief. Take the N.R.A. for example or prohibition. They take up these new ideals fired by a tremendous energy and zeal and lofty ideals, ready to throw all the old aside and launch out on a brand new track providing there is sufficient adventure in it. The people are easily led by any new stunt which may be suggested to them. (Case 7.)

The witness then went on to deplore the absence of any "quiet, conservative public opinion" in the United States. He is not alone in overlooking this important element in that most varied of democracies.

The excitability of the American people, we are told, is evidenced in the speed and noise of the large cities—the general atmosphere of ceaseless worried rush. The crowded underground railways, the throngs swarming out of down-town buildings, the hurried lunches eaten at a restaurant counter, are part of the general picture of the United States gathered from motion pictures, magazines and visits to New York. "So different from solid, quiet, business-like London, where people go about their affairs and you hear little or nothing about it." (Case 7.) "I got the impression (from New York, Boston and Portland) that people were in a tremendous hurry, much more than we think necessary in Canada." (Case 19.) The same point is put in less temperate language, "The noise of New York, and the quiet [sic] of London! Not accidents are they, but

radiations from the characters of the two peoples. In America noise is symptomatic. . . ."[4]

IV. *The Democratization of Social Values.*

We have seen that sensationalism and demonstrations of mass emotion have been explained as the results of lack of proper leadership. The masses have displaced the classes and are in control. It is a common belief among those who were interviewed that only in the Eastern States has culture been maintained.

> The Americans are money-mad. Everything has its price. There are some fine old families in the old parts of the States. I should expect to find the people in the New England States very much like our English population in Quebec, or the British in the Old Country. But these people are in the minority. It was a different class of people entirely that got control of the wealth of the United States. And they are the people who run the press, politics and the film industry—to their own satisfaction. We are only too familiar with the results. (Case 26.)

It is important to notice that language of this sort is used by many who would accord the most generous recognition to the work of the great American Endowments, if their attention were directed to them by a word from the interviewer. We are dealing with the effect of an accepted generalization in creating and maintaining a blind spot. Unquestionably the blind spot exists. "It is a matter of how much money you have rather than what you are that gauges your place in American society." (Case 21.) "American ideals are identified with wealth and wealth alone. In the final analysis what we [Canadians] aspire towards is the highest British ideal—character. We feel that there is something in blue-blood traditions, . . . that people are 'to the manner born' and that the ideals we hold most dear are those handed down by the nobility of England, who are anything but wealthy." (Case 24.) This notion of a social élite, of a culture based upon the traditions and ideals of aristocratic Britain, reappears over and over again in the interviews. It is probably characteristic of English-speaking Montreal and we should not have to go far west to hear it denounced as snobbish. Even in Montreal it would probably not have been

4. W. E. Harris, *Stand to Your Work—A Summons to Canadians Everywhere* (Toronto, 1927), p. 192.

difficult to find many who would have dissented violently from the views which we have been considering, had these been submitted to them for comment. But these views are not without their good consequences. They express themselves in action when an enterprising manufacturer or banker imagines that he differentiates himself from the Yankee "materialist" by subscribing to the Art Gallery, the National Council of Education, or other institutions of a cultural character, forgetting that this is a field in which American capitalists have led the world.

Americans are supposed to disregard their élite and to accept the values of the crowd. They "live for money's sake, and the things that money can buy. Material things are the only real things according to the modern idea in the States. Anything can be bought, whether it is protection from the police, favors from the government or a famous collection from an English art gallery." (Case 23.)

When similar tendencies appear in Canadian life they are considered not as a reason for refraining from criticism of Americans but as evidence of the deplorable influence of American examples.

There is a widespread belief that Americans make their money too easily and that the greater effort required in Canada has strengthened the Canadian character. "Americans seem to have an idea that there is an easy road to success. Our Canadian idea is that it requires a great deal of plugging. Things have not come as easy for us as they have for the Americans." (Case 13.) The effect of securing money too easily has been to make the American people "weak-kneed and spineless as a nation." (Case 23.) "Money is the root of the social evils in the United States." "When Americans enter the 'service' of their country, it is with the thought of how much money they can make out of it. The word service has no meaning for them." (Case 7.) Such ideas are, no doubt, derived partly from the appearance in fiction of business men from New York and Chicago, partly from the insistent claims of American veterans for a cash bonus, and partly from the most conspicuous, because least typical, American tourists. Such tourists, often not well acquainted with the places they visit, and anxious to secure some souvenir to bring back home with them, have given the impression that they are lacking in culture, in tact, and in proper

appreciation of the values and traditions of the people with whom they are mingling. Once a generalization is accepted the news of the day is readily interpreted so as to corroborate it. Then, too, Canadians are not always easy to distinguish from Americans and those who behave as the worst Americans are expected to behave are likely to be classed as Americans. Finally, accepted generalizations form the basis for comic or shocking stories.

V. *The Break-down of Law.*

"Law and order in the United States," says an informant whose meaning is clearer than his words, "is [sic] a discredit to the nation." (Case 16.) There is an established conception of American legal administration in which figure the Chicago gangster, the unscrupulous lawyer, the corrupt judge, the sentimental jury, the boisterous rowdy crowd in court, and the "yellow" press. "I used to have queer notions about the United States until I made several trips down there, visiting friends in various parts of the country. I expected to see gangsters on every corner of the streets of Chicago, but instead I found the city very businesslike and apparently as safe as Montreal." (Case 12.) "I do not think there is a tremendous amount of crime in the United States. Their newspapers, and our own, too, are filled with accounts of kidnaping, lynching, murders and suicides occurring down there."

Those who believe that, in comparison with Canada, the United States is disorderly, often attempt to explain to themselves why this difference exists. The desire for sensation and excitement, the worship of popular heroes, the lack of ideals, and the materialistic or even pecuniary outlook on life constitute a popular explanation of the supposed decay of law enforcement in the United States. Another popular explanation is that the United States has been peopled by undesirable immigrants ("the sweepings of other nations)." (Case 23.) The immigrants of a generation ago are described as mostly southern Europeans, who were "passionate and emotional." They rushed into the country "ignorant and poor" but "clever in some respects." Their children had "no guidance from parents who should have instilled high ideals into their young heads. That is why there is so much crime in the United States today." (Case 20.)

The large foreign element in the United States has made it more difficult to enforce the law than it is in Canada. Each group has migrated to the United States with ideas carried over from its native land. It was necessary to drill the foreigners in Americanism. They were taught that their main purpose in life must be to make the United States bigger and better for Americans—accumulate a fortune any way they wished, but get it—that was the main thing. We Canadians have a British tradition which says honesty and fair play first. Americans are dishonest in the methods they employ to come out first in the race. All principles are sacrificed. (Case 8.)

"Ambition to make money resulted in the accumulation of wealth by their large uneducated foreign population, and that brought on their crime waves. Canada had neither the money nor the foreign population to deal with, hence her comparative lack of disorder." (Case 22.)

Other explanations begin by reminding us that the original white Americans were not above political crime. "The United States seems to be a very lawless country. Of course the best of the early American settlers came over here to Canada and settled. They refused to fight against England. I do not think that crime is limited to the present time. It has been going on since the colonies first broke away from England and it has been gradually getting worse." (Case 4.)

The law, we are told, does not have the weight of public opinion behind it. "The people to the south of us certainly have no respect for the law." (Case 17.) "The masses have no realization of the necessity of discipline of any kind. They have no respect for their courts of justice. They are extremely sentimental and never want anyone to be punished." (Case 16.) The result is that the police are powerless in enforcing law. "Because their police system is very lax they are powerless to stamp out crime. There is no coöperation between the people and the police." (Case 8.)

My impression of justice as it is carried out in the United States is that any man can escape a sentence provided he has enough money to hire a better lawyer than the State. I have read about their lynchings and their kidnapers. It seems to me that the Americans could have made a decent law-abiding country out of the United States, if they had been more strict in checking the first outrages. The people left the matter to the police. The police were not of the same quality as our Royal Canadian Mounted

Police force. If a man wishes to rob a bank in the United States he knows that the police will never catch him, and, even if they should, he has a fair chance of getting off with a light sentence. . . . I should not care to live in the United States because one's life is in constant danger.[5] (Case 18.)

The police system in the United States is powerless to check crime because the public at large have no respect for law. There is a peculiar quality in the American make-up which makes them applaud when the strongest man wins, regardless of how he wins. . . . Their rugged individualism has come to mean a ruthless clearing of one's pathway to success, regardless of how one gets there. They no longer distinguish between right and wrong. Everything honorable has been sacrificed in the mad rush for money. (Case 22.)

Perhaps it is because we Canadians feel that nobility of character is worth more than material wealth that we have not had a succession of crime waves in Canada such as they have had on the other side of the boundary. (Case 24.)

Nothing would be easier than to reply to these observations, either by direct denial or by a sort of confession and avoidance. It is easy to point to American sentences which err on the side of severity or to cite the success of the federal police in suppressing kidnaping. It would require no great ingenuity to use the time-honored method of "*tu quoque*" and show that abuses exist in Canada. Yet such arguments would accomplish little. To the first the witnesses would answer that they had never denied the existence of some admirable Americans, to the second that American influences had unfortunately made themselves felt even in Canada.

We have already offered an explanation of the fact that some intelligent Canadians are ready to make, in all sincerity, these sweeping judgments about neighbors whom, on the whole, they like and respect. Accepted generalizations seem to possess an irresistible power of distorting judgment and stifling criticism, and this is particularly true if the generalizations are flattering in tone and invite people to engage in the agreeable task of explaining their own admitted superiority. We have seen how these generalizations arise. They are not the fabrications of malicious propaganda. They are not the result of instruction in the schools.

5. The interview took place earlier than the announcement that all American kidnapers were in jail.

They are the natural consequences of the observation by impressionable people of the American motion pictures, the American radio programs and the American periodicals. This observation is reinforced or corroborated in two ways: by the running commentaries in the Canadian press, and, to some extent, by the remarks of American visitors to Canada.[6] If the full intensity of these processes is realized, the vigorous language of the interviews will occasion no surprise and justify no resentment. If ordinary men and women were able to subject the news they read and the events they experience to the sort of judgment which might be expected of a trained jurist or a trained historian, the courses of law and history in our universities might be greatly abbreviated. When, in our courts, we withhold from a jury evidence which might carry too great weight with untrained minds, we recognize this human frailty. In all countries the public is a jury from which nothing can be withheld on this ground, and to which much that is highly misleading is communicated in most insidious forms. The impression which news creates is something totally different from the significance which a competent observer would attach to it. It must also be remembered that the interviews take no account of the large numbers of Canadians who do not bother themselves about international comparisons, and no account of the smaller number who attempt to check their first impressions by some sort of methodical study.

Some further adverse judgments of the United States remain to be recorded. The election of judges is frequently denounced though rarely studied. "Judges can be easily bought. Re-election at the end of their five-year [sic] term depends on their popularity with the press and with the public. I have a feeling that perhaps my life would not be as safe in the United States as it is in Canada, and that if I ever did get into the clutches of the law, I might be

6. Perhaps the editor may use his own experiences in exculpation of his compatriots. He has been frequently asked at conferences of American university teachers to explain certain supposed superiorities of Canadian-trained graduate students. It is difficult to deny the accuracy of the observation of American colleagues, equally difficult to find explanations that are becomingly modest. Any explanation which is volunteered is certain to be exaggerated at once by those with whose educational views it coincides.

convicted without a fair trial because sentimental juries sought to convict me." (Case 17.)

American education is reproached with not having done much to improve the situation. "Though mass education," reads a news report of an address by Dr. George W. Parmalee, former director of Protestant education in Quebec (Montreal *Daily Star*, October 9, 1931), "has had the effect of decreasing crime generally, this is not the case in the United States. . . . Education in Europe had some definite ideal and purpose, whereas that is not so in the United States." "There is too much supervision in American homes and schools," says a Montreal schoolteacher, "and this has resulted in children growing up with no sense of responsibility and lacking the ability to think for themselves after they leave school. That is one reason for the terrible crime waves that sweep the country." (Case 23.)

The comparatively innocent explanation of American crime statistics as a result of rapid urbanization is not advanced by anyone. Therefore, the increase in Canadian crime, when it occurs, is attributed to American influences, and not to indigenous causes. This belief leads to further resentment against a "wayward neighbor."

VI. *The Break-down of Morals.*

The sophisticated life of the large American cities, as depicted in newspapers and magazines, shocks the scruples of many Canadians. They rather enjoy being shocked so long as they can associate the scandals with American as distinct from Canadian life. Such phenomena as the night club, the unfaithful husband, the divorce court, the "chic co-ed," the amorous stenographer, and the suicide of a prominent society woman are thought of either as distinctively American, or as the rule in the United States and the exception in Canada. "We can get some idea of the average [sic] American's family, I suppose, from the stories we read in, say, the _____ magazine. In this there is usually portrayed a household in which the wealthy husband runs around to night clubs, the wife is never at home, and the daughter is—no one knows where. I suppose there are American homes like that, but I do not think that they are the general rule. Divorce has broken up home life

to a greater extent than it has affected our own." (Case 2.) "They say that magazines and moving pictures reflect the nation as a whole. If that is true, then I would say that the majority of the people of the United States have a tendency to stress unduly the subject of sex, and to make light of the things we Canadians hold sacred." (Case 8.) "I have made several trips down to the United States which were very enjoyable. I would not care to live there, particularly if I were married and had a family. Canada is a 'cleaner' country in which to live. . . . Did you read the article in the *Star* about the church in New York which held a dance after the evening service? That would never happen in Canada." (Case 25.)

The "co-ed" story, supposedly applicable to American high schools and colleges, appeals to many who seek romance and gaiety because their own life is dull and uninteresting. Canadian readers are often well enough acquainted with Canadian university life to realize that these stories are not typical of Canadian institutions, while they are ready to believe what they are told about American institutions. The stories become part of their picture of life in the United States. It is only with greater sophistication that reluctant incredulity arises.

But it was chiefly on divorce that attention focused, for fact is, after all, more convincing than fiction. Although divorces are not uncommon in Canada, they are much more frequent in many of the states of the United States. They are thought of as typical of that country. "Their divorce system is such that one can get a divorce one day and remarry the next, if it is desired. On the whole they seem to have no definite set of morals, no code of honor, and no respect for the best things—the real things in life." (Case 6, *also* Case 16.) Perhaps it is an older generation speaking. "The people seem to have the idea that they can run to the divorce courts just as easily as do Hollywood actresses. They weren't like that in the States when I was a child. . . . The people in the States were good, God-fearing people then." (Case 9.)

As usual, an explanation is sought. "Morally they became more corrupt than ourselves [Canadians] because they had more money, generally speaking. Our money was concentrated in a few individuals. If I may use the expression, 'their bread was spread thicker,

because they had more butter.'" (Case 13.) If the belief that Canadians are less corrupt has a Pharisaical tinge, the tentative explanation has none. For Canadians seek greater wealth as vigorously as they can, whatever danger of moral degradation it may carry with it.

I do feel that the American people are less moral than the Canadians. The types we read and hear about are chiefly from the large cities—every large city has them and Montreal is no exception. The same things go on here, but they are not given the same prominence in our papers, nor have we very many large cities which will make news for us such as you get out of Chicago and New York. I am sure that the better class of Americans—and in that I would include the majority of the people of the United States—realize that they have a tremendous problem on their hands in the matters of crime, divorce, political corruption and all other things which make us throw up our hands in horror. They feel it quite as keenly and recognize the fact that until they remove such features from their national life they must bear the reproach of other nations. The motley population of the United States has made it a particularly difficult problem to solve. (Case 3.)

Other views are harsher, "the condemnation of the American people as a whole is weak in correcting the situation." (Case 24.) Even the better class of Americans, though they may not share in such practices, "make no real protest, apparently believing that everyone should be free to do and think as he likes." (Case 8.) "People in general in Canada tend to ostracise a divorced person, but in the United States it (divorce) is regarded from a very casual and indifferent viewpoint."[7] (Case 15.)

The exception proves the rule. One informant spoke of a case in Canada in which her sister was trying vainly to obtain a divorce in Quebec and was not content to "be sacrificed to protect the sanctity of the Canadian home."

VII. *Defense Against Americanization.*

To some extent the very fact of classing tendencies as foreign may stimulate an effort to avoid them, but special importance is likely to be attached to institutions which are believed to have a

7. Several parents have protested against an address in a high school by Sir Henry Thornton, a divorced man. Mr. (now Sir Edward) Beatty, as a bachelor, had thus a certain advantage over his rival railway magnate.

protective value, and any encroachments of the enemy are likely to be regarded with apprehension. "We in Quebec," maintained a member of the Montreal Local Council of Women, "will certainly never become Americanized to the same degree that the people of Ontario will. The latter province may absorb, and I think has to some degree, the features of American life which we do not admire. Among the latter I would mention their prevalence of divorce and a laxity in morals. Our own province will never go to such extremes because of the strong influence exerted by the Roman Catholic Church, which is a potent factor in molding public opinion in Quebec."[8] (Case 1.) "Toronto and the border towns," said a member of the Westmount Women's Club, "may be said to be Americanized, because they have copied the worst features of American life. It is only necessary to glance at their newspapers to see how much of the American idea of news is creeping into them. The prevalence of divorce in Ontario may be traced to the influence of the States. The people are taking that sort of thing as a matter of course because they see so much of it. In Montreal we have two active agents to prevent some of the social evils of the United States from being regarded lightly: the Roman Catholic Church, and our press, which exerts a strong British influence and does not print sensational articles to the practical exclusion of foreign news." (Case 2.)

There is discernible, however, a marked tendency in Montreal towards Americanization. French-Canadians coming from rural life to an urban industrial environment have had to give up much of their traditional outlook in adjusting themselves to their new surroundings and, in the course of the process, it is rather to American than to British influences that they succumb. The young French-Canadian bank clerk or stenographer reads New York tabloids, goes to see Hollywood films, and spends his (or her) two weeks' vacation at an American summer resort. The younger generation of French-Canadians may continue to speak French on most occasions, but even their French is highly colored by American slang and American metaphors. They are ceasing to be part of the

8. Only relatively to that of Quebec can the divorce law of Ontario be called lax. The sole ground of divorce is adultery and the solicitor must make an affidavit that he has satisfied himself that the proceedings are not collusive.

communal social groups of French Quebec and becoming part of a cosmopolitan city.

In much the same way the younger generation of the British group is losing its distinctiveness and modeling its fashions and its social behavior on those of the larger American cities. To the older generation these tendencies (albeit they themselves are not unaffected by them) are distasteful, and this generation is apt to attribute them almost entirely to American influence and to endeavor to create a moral boundary to keep them out.

American films are a decided menace to Canada because they are a potent factor in the molding of the characters, manners and customs of our Canadian youth. About ninety-nine girls out of a hundred under the age of twenty-one are stage-struck. When they attend a play they project themselves into the rôle of the heroine. If a girl should happen to bear the least resemblance to a film star and she is told about it, she proceeds to cut her hair in the same style, tries to "make-up" to look like her "double," and even walks and talks like her. . . . It is too ridiculous the way our girls try to imitate them. You have only to look at the tremendous annual increase in the sale and variety of cosmetics in Canada to estimate the influence of American movies and magazines on our girls." (Case 17, a high school principal.)

And yet the same speaker admits that he takes home the New York *Daily Mirror* every week, "because my children would make my life very uncomfortable for me if I failed to bring home the 'funnies.'"

It seems to me that Hollywood pictures give Canadians false ambitions to own gorgeous estates and wear beautiful clothes, and ideas about solving their marital troubles with an easy divorce. In other words their [Americans'] films are depicting life as it cannot be lived. The result is to make Canadians dissatisfied with their lot, and thus resort to ways and means of getting the things out of life that Americans seem to be getting. (Case 26.)

A member of a missionary society says:

We have had no American publications in our home for two or three years. We decided to subscribe to Canadian magazines because they seemed cleaner in tone. Our children read the magazines that enter the house from cover to cover. Naturally we felt that it was just as well to discontinue subscribing to American publications with their triangle

affairs, depicting marriage and home life as something trivial and holding forth the idea that when a woman meets her affinity it was perfectly all right for her to get a divorce and marry him.

In this moral crusade it is always for others that concern is felt. A publication should be banned, "to keep it beyond the reach of children and uneducated persons who might be influenced by it." (Case 2.) The following statement rings true and naïve:

> I subscribe to a number of American periodicals, including the *Red Book* and *Cosmopolitan*—all light reading. I find Canadian magazines so very dull and uninteresting, and I am never tempted to read anything as heavy and intellectual as English periodicals. There is a preponderance of trash printed in the States, such as the American tabloids and cheap sensational magazines, which may affect our youth and people with less education than you or I. (Case 22.)

Another declaration is equally frank:

> One of the privileges we Canadians have as a nation separate from the United States is the power to tell our citizens what they shall see, read and hear. If I were speaking for myself, I would balk at the mere thought of having someone tell me that I could not read a certain book or see a particular film. That would be the main reason why I would see it. But if I had to speak for a group, say, a crowd of school children, or a nation where there were impressionable people, well, I suppose I would call in the censor just as we have been doing. (Case 27.)

It is interesting to note that, by repercussion as it were, English periodicals which are less frequently read have come to enjoy a certain moral prestige. "British magazines are, of course, the finest one can procure. I read several of them and find them infinitely superior to the average American publication." (Case 23.) We shall see (Chapter XIX) that this tendency to praise the British by way of contrast with the Americans, and without exhaustive inquiry, is not confined to literature.

But it is the American magazines which are read, and it is the American magazines which serve as models for Canadian publications. "We read more Canadian magazines than American publications. Included among the former are *Chatelaine*, *MacLean's* and *Canadian Geographic*. There is a quality in their stories equal to

what we have been accustomed to in reading material from the States." (Case 10.) Others were distressed by the increasing similarity between Canadian and American newspapers. "It is really deplorable to note the tendency of our own newspapers. They are becoming so horribly American. A few years ago we would never have given similar prominence to a trial like the Lindbergh case. For days we saw nothing but trial headlines." (Case 6.) "I was very sorry," said a member of the Montreal Local Council of Women, "to see the space that even our own newspapers gave to the Lindbergh trial. I am afraid that there is a possibility of our newspapers creating an unconscious appetite among Canadians for the same kind of sensational news that satisfies the American reader." (Case 1.)

British films, like British periodicals, benefit in repute from being contrasted with the American. "I prefer British films because I can attend them without embarrassment. They set a better example for Canadians than do Hollywood films which feature sirens and gigolos, a free and easy divorce system, a laxity of morals in general, and much crime." (Case 2.) The general opinion once established survives even direct observation, for an exception may merely prove the rule. "I happened to take my mother to see a British film last fall. The picture contained several scenes of coarse drinking. We were both horribly shocked and disappointed, but of course it was an exception." (Case 25.)

These moral judgments may have political applications. "For traditions and guidance which will lead us to a fuller spiritual life, we look towards the British Empire." (Case 13.)

> I feel that if we ever broke the link between Canada and the British Empire, even if we remained a separate country from the United States, we would become just as they are in many respects. It is a matter of pride with us now to try to become as nearly perfect as England in matters of justice, fair play, honesty, government and all things to which we make reference when we use the terms British ideals and British traditions. (Case 20.)

A Canadian nationalist, on the other hand, is likely to be completely tolerant of American culture.

VIII. *Patriotic Apprehensions.*

While there is thus a transition from fear of moral and cultural deterioration to an appeal to political patriotism, the defense of national and imperial ideals is very rarely stressed in the interviews. This defense is left mainly in the hands of organized national groups and of the press, and it is to them that we must turn for evidence of patriotic opinion.

> The majority of American radio programs are a menace to Canadian nationalism, Canadian business and Canadian culture, S. Morgan-Powell told members of the St. George Snowshoe Club at the Saturday luncheon, in an address reviewing present radio conditions. Mr. Powell scored the modern crooner and singer of sex songs as well as tuneless bands, which, he said, insulted the intelligence of the Canadian listener with their drivel. . . . He could not see why Canadians should be forced to accept American ideals as their own, or why the rising generation should desire Americanism instead of Canadian interests. The Canadian business man, he continued, was losing a tremendous sum owing to the domination of the United States radio advertising which was being dumped into Canada night after night. (Montreal *Daily Star*, March 28, 1932, p. 24.)

The same speaker denounced American films, "Canada should produce her own films in order to exhibit before young Canadians moving pictures that are Canadian in ideal rather than American, S. Morgan-Powell of the Montreal *Star* yesterday told members of the Advertising Club. . . . Mr. Morgan-Powell deplored the influences now exerted on young Canadians by the moving pictures and the talkies from the United States." (*Gazette*, Montreal, September 11, 1930, p. 4.) The significance of these remarks for our purposes does not lie in the aesthetic preferences of the speaker. Many Americans could be found who would agree with him. But what is peculiar to Canada is the possibility of allying these aesthetic preferences with an emotional appeal to national sentiment and a reasoned appeal to pecuniary interests.

Part of the protest against American influences concerned the textbooks in use in the schools. The grounds of protest were twofold. Some of the books were published in the United States and Canadians found this fact in itself humiliating and inconsistent with their wish to encourage Canadian authors and Canadian publishers. And in some cases the contents of the books were open

to objection because they made reference to Canada in a way which could be understood as disparaging. A resolution passed by the Canadian Chamber of Commerce instituted an inquiry into the books used in the Dominion and called on provincial organizations to carry on a like investigation. Accordingly, the Montreal Board of Trade and the Montreal Branch of the Canadian Manufacturers' Association set up a joint committee which reported on May 12, 1930. The committee formulated five principles to which little objection could be taken. The second, third and fourth of these are significant for our purposes:

(2) That textbooks which do not manifest a fair Canadian point of view —or worse still, which forcefully present the viewpoint of some foreign country—should be eliminated and replaced by books of Canadian authorship and publication, if such are available, or otherwise by books of English authorship and publication.

(3) That textbooks should be selected to the end that our children might grow up familiar with our country and with the British Empire and with a knowledge and appreciation of the best British and Canadian traditions.

(4) That our children should be led to study and comprehend the resources and potentialities of the British Empire generally and the Dominion of Canada particularly. (The *Gazette*, Montreal, May 13, 1930.)

In the final settlement, the only books eliminated were hygiene readers introduced by advocates of temperance. These had been in no way designed for use in Canada and were open to objection in stating, for instance, that "the fourth of July is our country's birthday," and in indexing "Canada" as a subheading under "Alcohol." (Editorial in the *Gazette*, Montreal, September 17, 1930, p. 14.)

IX. *Ceremonial Attitudes Towards the United States.*

All the ordinary everyday acts which concern the United States are marked by courtesy and by the most friendly spirit. This is true not merely of the formal speeches insisting on the hundred years of good will and the thousands of miles of unfortified frontier, which have become the wearisome themes of after-dinner speakers, of addresses of welcome to American public men or business men, and of newspaper editorials. It is also true of all matters in which

vested interests are not affected and national self-consciousness is not aroused. A prominent member of the Imperial Order Daughters of the Empire in a village of the Eastern Townships writes, "We never have two celebrations when we can afford to have any. We have only one, sometimes on the 1st and sometimes on the 4th (of July), or maybe not on either day but in between. We decorate on both sides with both flags." We must never allow ourselves to forget this friendliness which is spontaneous and sincere.

X. *Conclusions.*

One very significant conclusion can be drawn from the description of opinions and attitudes in English-speaking Quebec. It is by well-organized groups that protests are directed against influences which imperil, or appear likely to imperil, either vested Canadian interests or the maintenance of the national patriotism on which these interests rely. On special occasions, as in 1911 or in 1930, the leadership of these organizations may receive strong popular support. But the protests against supposedly evil moral influences appear to be popular and spontaneous, although, as we have seen, a background has been prepared for them by the picture of the United States which is created by motion pictures, radio and periodicals, and which is kept before Canadians by the daily comments of their own press. These popular protests often lack direction and a clear objective, and unless those who make them can enter into alliance with the financial or nationalistic organizations, little can be accomplished. Otherwise the protests remain vague and incoherent, and yet they have importance as forming part of the general attitude of many Canadians towards the United States. In a crisis it is always possible to appeal to them if it is in anyone's interest to do so.

CHAPTER XVIII

OPINIONS AND ATTITUDES IN RURAL MANITOBA

I. *Introduction.*

Our previous investigations have been predominantly concerned with urban communities, which comprise the most vocal and most influential of the people whose opinions and attitudes we are endeavoring to discover. But, while these communities do exercise an influence disproportionate to their numerical strength, it is desirable to supplement what has been said about them by examining other Canadian groups. For this purpose a study has been made of rural opinion in Manitoba by Mrs. R. F. McWilliams. Several methods of approach have been employed in the hope that they would supplement one another. As will be seen, they do present a fairly consistent picture of a rather complicated situation in which divergent tendencies exist side by side.

In the first place letters were sent to fifty-one women, who were considered to be leaders in their respective districts, asking them to state their views on a few general questions designed to ascertain the general feeling with regard to the United States and to Canadian-American relations. The response was excellent and it appeared that the women were really glad of an opportunity to speak out on a question which had disturbed them. Forty-seven replies were received and of these only five had to be set aside as making no substantial contribution to the study.

The next step was to check the impressions gathered from these letters by writing to fifty-two editors and publishers of newspapers in the smaller towns of Manitoba, of whom thirty-nine had been selected as likely to give thoughtful judgments. Of the thirty-nine, twenty-one replied to the letter and, of the remaining thirteen, two replied. In general the answers were less thorough than those obtained from the women, but they were correspondingly more tolerant and more balanced. The letters of the editors, like those of the women, differ greatly in quality, and no attempt at numerical calculation has been made. Then, too, it must be remembered that in both cases letters were received from

all parts of the Province, with no pretense at proportional representation.

It was partly to compensate for the vagueness resulting from this territorial dispersion, that two special studies were made of small towns in Manitoba. But another consideration entered into this decision. To determine the general outlook of a group a fairly wide sample of representative members must be taken. Only within a well-defined area could this be done. In each case opinions were recorded up to the point at which continual repetition seemed to indicate that most currents of opinions had been adequately observed. One of the two towns lay well in the center of the Province, the other at the border of the United States. The reasons for selecting each as, in its way, a typical community, will be indicated later.

Closely related to these studies of rural opinion is the survey of the rural school children which has already been recorded (pp. 378–381).

II. *Opinions of Leaders Among Rural Women.*

The first question which the leaders among rural women were asked was, "What contribution to Western Canada, and particularly to Manitoba, are Americans making now, or have they made in the past?" The general opinion was that such contribution as Americans may have made had no distinctive quality and that Americans have been almost indistinguishable from Canadians, if they have remained in the country. To some extent this view is confirmed by the fact that three of the fifty-one women believed to be leaders of rural society in Manitoba were American by birth or parentage. While this proportion is small it is double that of the American-born to the total population, but this apparent tendency to lead is offset by the fact that 45 per cent of the population of Manitoba is of European origin.

Within the limits of this general judgment, there were at least three distinct, though not contradictory, currents of opinion, each of which can be illustrated from the answers which were received. The first of these tendencies is to regard American settlers in Manitoba as essentially transients, or at least as fair-weather birds who come in good times and leave in bad, as anxious to get rich

quick and then to return to the United States. We shall see later that this view is confirmed both by the editors and by opinion in the small towns, and that this local experience is the source of a good deal of unfavorable comment on Americans as a class. For a rural community does not like transients and is apt to forget that casual emigrants are not a fair sample of the community from which they come.

The following extracts from letters illustrate this opinion:

> The few landowners who came here several years ago were influenced chiefly by the fact that they could obtain arable land cheaply, could thus realize a substantial return on their investment, and not with the idea of becoming Canadian citizens. These particular Americans returned to the United States after a series of profitable years, and have since rented their farms to Canadians. My impression is that dollars were uppermost in their mind and not citizenship. . . . The right type of American would make ideal citizens for this young country of ours, if we could only persuade them to come here with the idea of making homes as well as money. (Letter 21.)

A woman who describes her mother's people with sensitive pride as "splendid people who didn't even consider themselves better than anyone else," writes: "The only Americans in or around our district are unscrupulous speculators who have left a very bad impression." (Letter 45.)

The second current of opinion is that Americans place an emphasis on material progress to the exclusion of the finer things of life. This belief is used as a second explanation of their reputed unwillingness to give unpaid public service whether in governmental activities or in farmers' organizations and Boards of Trade.[1] It is closely linked with the view that Americans come to Canada to make money and get out. We shall come across it again when the moral and cultural level of Americans is under discussion, and this local experience is associated with tales of political

1. There are, of course, less nationalistic explanations. The American may not be naturalized and may thus be ineligible for some offices. He is more likely than other immigrants to belong to the commercial classes who feel that they should give their whole time to their employer's business or their own.

corruption in the United States. An ex-schoolteacher writes of the parents of American school children:

> As I found them, their hospitality was all that could be desired and they showed all the wide-awakeness, good business and progressiveness for which, I think, Americans are noted. But when it comes to the better things of life, religion, etc., it seemed to me that their contribution was weak or small. Probably carelessness was what was wrong . . . our American citizens were too busy getting rich to be good, so busy with worldly things that heavenly things were forgotten. (Letter 22.)

Finally, as the preceding quotation has suggested, there is a belief that Americans have more "pep," adventurousness and enterprise than Canadians and these qualities (in moderation) are supposed to be good for Canadians to acquire by association with those who possess them. "Their contribution to Manitoba has been initiative, wealth, ambition, for they are mostly hustlers." (Letter 17.) "Americans can stir us up on many things and we, on the other hand, can show them the necessity of a true and solid foundation." (Letter 22.) Thus we come back to our point of departure. Americans who do settle down in Canada are, *ex hypothesi*, immune from criticism as transients. While they have somewhat "easier ways" in relation to church and the observance of law, and are viewed with some suspicion in matters of "commercial honesty," their children are easily Canadianized as far as moral and cultural differences are concerned, and their attractive and progressive qualities remain as a distinct asset. (Letter 12.)

The second question asked for a rating of Americans in Manitoba as friends, neighbors and citizens. The answers show less unanimity than those to the first question, and the currents of opinion, though not irreconcilable, follow different directions. There can be no doubt whatever that Americans are liked and admired socially. They are friendly and hospitable and do not have the reserve of Canadians or British. "As I know Americans, they are the most hospitable people and can show us how to make visitors welcome and at ease. The women are good cooks and also good entertainers." (Letter 1.) "I can say without hesitation that Americans make excellent citizens. In matters dealing with public welfare (health, education, etc.) they are alert and active if given leadership. I have

not known them to take the lead in such matters, but this may be just a coincidence. Especially do they value cultural training, music, drama, oratory, elocution, etc. The value they place on the child is usually of a very high order. . . . As friends and neighbors they are really very fine." (Letter 2, the writer of this letter was at school for some years in the United States.) "I like the few Americans I know. They are energetic, friendly, public spirited." (Letter 4.) "The Americans are good mixers." (Letter 7.) But social charm and austere morality rarely go together, and many letters emphasize the belief, which we shall have to examine later, that there is a distinct difference between the moral standards of the two countries. It must be remembered that the moral standards of rural communities in Manitoba attach great weight to Sunday observance, permanent monogamous marriage, and respect for law (probably in the order named), as indices of general integrity. "Americans are very shrewd, almost to the extent of being tricky." (Letter 5.) "Points against them are their laxity re marriage laws and laxity re law enforcement and Sunday observance." (Letter 31.) "The people I have met and known are very materialistic and show a surprising lack of cultural and spiritual values. They appear to have no regard for the Sabbath and no time to consider spiritual values." (Letter 43.)

Another line of thought reproaches Americans with not making good citizens because they always retain an allegiance to their country of origin, whereas Canadians who go to the United States are supposed to take their naturalization oath more seriously. This excessive patriotism is attributed to the propagandist character of American education, by one of the American-born women who answered this question. "The love and loyalty instilled in children hold through life and that makes me wonder if I am doing right in stating my thoughts." (Letter 37; the writer of this letter left the United States at the age of eighteen.) The thought which excited this conscientious scruple was that "the British are more steady in spirit (than the Americans)." Other letters stress this point. "Americans never become Canadians as far as my experience goes. They may naturalize; they may join in all community enterprises; they may appear to be Canadians. Let one detrimental word be spoken in regard to American laws, etc., and they are

immediately Americans. We admire their loyalty." (Letter 18.) "I have been struck with their loyalty to their own country. No matter how long they may have been here, nor how—in better times—they prospered, their love remained as staunch for the States as ever. They work and support any movement, but their heart is in their own land." (Letter 33.)

The third question asked for general impressions of people and conditions in the United States at present. There is substantial uniformity in the answers, whether they represent, as some do, mere prejudice, or as do others, temperate judgment. The core of rural opinion is stated by a woman who had spent some time in the United States:

> Americans, I find, are more sociable, friendly and have less reserve than Canadians. They are quicker in thought and have much more "pep" than we have. On the other hand, they lack sincerity, reliableness, reverence for the sacred things of life; they neglect the Sabbath. They are not so temperate and are more fond of publicity and notoriety than we are. (Letter 5.)

Conscientious introspection lies behind another typical letter:

> My immediate reaction to Americans in general is a prejudiced one, I know, but it's against them. That's because I have built up an idea of Americans and Americanism which I don't like; yet when I meet them as individuals I usually have found I like them. I've just been trying to analyze what I include in the rather nebulous idea of Americanism which I always have to put aside quite consciously, as one might step over a boulder to get a flower, when I meet the term or idea "American." It includes bumptiousness, cocksureness, self-praise, and blowing-up one's own possessions, people and ideas; also a rather materialistic attitude that seeks possessions and judges people by them, a flaunting of luxury and extravagance as though it were something of real importance. . . . (Letter 6; the writer of this letter is described as the most highly educated in the group.)

Other observations occur in other letters. The prevalence of divorce is condemned (Letters 18, 29), and so is the lax observance of the law (Letters 23, 45, 29, 25, 32) and the tendency to make heroes out of criminals (Letter 32). Americans are reproached with being less well informed as to world conditions than Canadians. (Letter 23.)

There is nothing new in these criticisms, but it is important to notice that they hang together and combine in inspiring a feeling of distrust. "They are a people whose object in life is material gain at all costs. I really hate writing that down on paper, but I believe that if you get the honest reaction to that question from the people of Manitoba, you would get that answer in some form from at least 75 per cent of them, perhaps more." (Letter 8.) It is an American-born woman who writes, "I might say that intellectually I consider the Canadians of a high standard; they are more refined. I think the wealth a bit more evenly distributed here, and people consider the wealth of the soul a little more important than gold. It seems that the survival of the strongest is a little more shown out there (in the United States)." (Letter 44.)

These intellectual judgments are reinforced emotionally. Two powerful irritants are at work: American boastfulness and American ignorance of Canada. "The only thing I want to quarrel with them for is when they refer to the United States of America as the birthplace of democracy, and to Canada as one of England's colonies. This is a real grievance. It isn't ignorance. It is just a sort of sub-conscious assurance that America is on top of the world and that Canada, while doing fairly well considering, is nevertheless deserving of sympathy." (Letter 2.) Boastfulness is frequently mentioned. (Letters 30, 7, 6.) And so is American ignorance of Canada. (Letters 10, 21, 22, 6.)

III. *The Opinions of Editors and Publishers of Newspapers in Small Towns.*

The letters written to the editors asked for a general account of local opinion, and for conjectures as to the origin of any views generally held by thoughtful people, as well as for an expression of personal outlook. The answers agree substantially with the picture which emerges from consideration of the letters of the leaders among rural women, though quite naturally less importance is attached to Sunday observance and doubts as to the commercial honesty of Americans are less freely expressed.

We can, therefore, turn at once to the suggested sources of the opinions which are recorded. A naturalized American writes, "I am here (middle southern part of the Province) amongst people

almost exclusively from old Ontario, traditionally hostile to the United States. I often feel like an alien." (Letter—; the same view of Ontario traditions appears in Letter 5.) He goes on to attribute the low esteem in which Americans are held to the movies and to the popular American periodicals which are widely read in Canada and accepted as an authentic account of American life. The same idea reappears in another letter:

> There appears to be a common feeling, particularly among the general run of people, rather than the more intelligent, that the Americans are less cultured, more wealthy and morally more careless than the Canadians. I feel that this idea has been built up largely through the fact that American crimes have been such a great factor in American publications, while political corruption has featured a large percentage of movie productions and cheap novels. . . . No Canadian movie would be well received which did anything but pay tribute to our courts and to our Royal Canadian Mounted Police. (Letter 6.)

The editors are quite clear that American boastfulness has contributed to the annoyance of Canadians.

> I would say that the general attitude towards Americans is that of slight dislike, because of a tendency to boast of the great country to the south. This became accentuated in the late war years, and particularly evidenced itself immediately after the war; boasting of what "America did" to "win it" left a bad taste in the mouth of people who had felt war's terrible grip for so much greater a length of time. I have been amazed to find this feeling very marked among really thoughtful, prominent people in rural centers—who readily voice it upon occasion even today. (Letter 3, the best letter of this group.)

And we are told that "The American's lack of information about Canada is hard for a Canadian to endure." (Letter 5.)

In another question the editors were asked what they thought of the contribution made by Americans to the development of Western Canada. Opinions were divided. The holding aloof from public service is noted: "The coöperative work, and the foundation building has been left to others; thus you seldom see or hear of American men taking real interest in civic affairs, politics and the like—they hold no office involving work with no pay—they seem to hold definitely aloof from things not directly connected with their business of making money." (Letter 3.) Others say that Americans

have played a great part in developing the Canadian Middle West. (Letters 1, 2, 5, 6, 17 and 18—roughly speaking, opinions are equally divided.)

The editors were next asked to indicate their own attitude towards Americans. A single letter will serve as a typical example of the answers:

> My own opinion and feeling towards Americans is that, except for a rather enlarged feeling of their own importance, they are much of a muchness with our own folks. They do have, I believe, a somewhat different conception of ideals and sportsmanship. The "main chance" seems to be a dominating influence; the win-at-any-cost ideal seems to be firmly established. But at heart I believe the real hundred-per-center is on a par with our best—hard-headed and shrewd, undoubtedly, and without the grasp on world affairs, history and the like that the fully informed Britisher possesses, due largely to his more reliable, less colored reading. . . . Americans seem to possess a saving sense of humor that largely offsets the "handicap" of their well-developed gift-of-gab. (Letter 3, "the best letter.")

Here and there other reservations are made to the general statement that Americans are not much different from Canadians. (Letters 3, 4, 13, 14, 16, 17 and 22.) Security is greater in Canada while Americans are beset with doubt and fear. (Letter 9.) Canadians are more satisfied (Letter 16); but Americans are more carefree and enjoy life more (Letters 10, 11, 19). And, of course, the resemblance extends only to the best Americans. The "others" are condemned by the editors as they were by the women and as they will be in the small towns (pp. 414–428).

Finally the editors were asked directly whether they thought there was justification for the feeling "that Canadians are superior to Americans in morals, in education and what may be called general culture." Put in this bald way to men of the world, the question almost invited a negative answer. "Certainly not," wrote one editor, "for the love of Mike, use discretion." (Letter 17.) But if we count pens the negative vote of six (Letters 1, 6, 10, 14, 17 and 22) was exceeded by the affirmative vote of twelve (Letters 2, 3, 4, 5, 7, 8, 9, 11, 13, 15, 18 and 19). In several cases an affirmative vote was surrounded with reservations. For instance, Canadian superiority was said to be rapidly disappearing (Letter 3—"The

best letter"), or to consist in decorous behavior imposed by law and opinion rather than inspired by vigilant virtue (Letter 5).

IV. *A Study of the Town of X——.*

(i) *General Survey.*

The town of X——, which was chosen as one of the two small towns to be specially studied, is situated on the east side of the Red River immediately at the international boundary. It is thus on the main highway from Minneapolis to Winnipeg and is the chief port of entry for immigration and customs from the United States. Its American counterpart is a village in Minnesota. For many purposes the two communities collaborate and X—— is also in close touch with a small town in North Dakota. We are thus dealing with people who have ample opportunity for first-hand contact with Americans.

The historical background of X—— can be briefly sketched. The town developed very rapidly after the survey of the international boundary in 1873 and seemed likely to have a brilliant future before it as a distributing center for a large agricultural area. Its foremost pioneer, and first mayor, was an American, Thomas Carney, who eventually returned to his own country without having adopted British nationality. By 1881 the population of X—— exceeded 3,000. But the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway transferred its business to Winnipeg and by 1890 X—— was bankrupt. Many of the settlers who had come to the district from Ontario moved on to Minnesota or North Dakota where they received a bounty for every acre planted to tree and where they enjoyed superior communications by road and rail. Eventually more prosperous conditions returned, with local agriculture as their base. In 1915 the town made a settlement with its creditors and began to repay its old debts. Today the population is about 1,000. There is a dominant group of thoughtful people, among whom may be classed the officials in charge of customs and immigration. Close contact with the communities south of the boundary has continued from the days when Canadians colonized that country. Much day to day purchasing is done in X——, and Americans make use of Canadian banks. Social relations of all sorts are on the most friendly footing. They extend beyond bridge,

golf and parties to reunions of ex-soldiers, joint church activities, meetings of educational groups and of farmers' organizations. Thus for many purposes the frontier is ignored.

The method of study adopted consisted in interviews with prominent or representative citizens: a bank manager, the leading customs official, an immigration official, the mayor and the town clerk, the minister of the largest church and his wife, a doctor and his wife, the principal of the high school, two merchants and the wife of one of them, a farmer, who was also a veterinary-surgeon and who had been a member of the provincial government, and his wife, two other farmers, a woman "town leader" and a woman "farm leader," a railway conductor, a railway workman, and a high-school girl. Further interviews seemed likely to result in mere repetition of general views which, after reasonable allowance had been made for individual peculiarities, were almost universally held. The opinions of these witnesses can be conveniently arranged round a few main topics.

(ii) *Business Ethics of Americans.*

The bank manager was a Scotchman who had lived for many years in Canada. He began by explaining that his bank catered to Americans who owned 37 per cent of the deposits of the local branch. These depositors had been attracted to Canada, at the time of the banking troubles in the United States, by their belief in the greater safety of Canadian banks. They leave their money on deposit for long periods and, while he rarely meets them, their confidence is a source of gratification. With other Americans he has business from day to day. These men are always speculators, inclined to exaggerate the value of their properties when they seek a loan, and not as reliable as the ordinary Canadian in meeting their engagements. "You just have to watch them."

The mayor was a man of emphatic opinions. As a boy he had lived in the United States. He had served in the war, had practised law in X—— for ten years and had been mayor for seven. "I most certainly do not like the United States and I hope never to have to live there again. It is a country without law. It has no order and no real education. There is not even much honesty." As a magistrate he had encountered American tourists who had got into

difficulties with border officials or who had broken traffic laws. He found them neither honest nor fair. "I have never had a Canadian offer to bribe me, but many Americans have. They often offer me $20 for myself and the policeman, 'just to square things' as they say. I do not get mad at them. I just tell them that it is not done in this country, but I warn them not to offer the Mountie any money or they will be arrested." As a lawyer he had no good word for his American confrères. "They do not know their law, therefore they all get into politics if they can. They take any case, honest or not." Of his American clients he spoke in much the same terms as the banker, "You always have to watch them. They speculate and they exaggerate. They are fine as long as there is lots of money, but when there isn't they will try anything. The moral risk is half the business in a mortgage; well, they just have not the moral qualities. Even their women will put it over you if they can."

The chief customs official did not wish to run down Americans, because his son-in-law was an American, but he agreed with the mayor as to their propensity to offer bribes. He explained this peculiar characteristic as arising from disrespect for their own laws and added, "Americans admire us because we do enforce our laws, even though at times they try to induce us to disregard them."

Both merchants were reticent. Though they found Americans pleasant customers, one added, "I always know one when they walk in the door." They were, it appeared, louder in their talk and a little harder to wait on than the Canadians.

The minister, who had spent most of his career in Winnipeg, commented on the widespread "Canadian superiority idea," which, indeed, he shared. The superiority was educational and moral and showed itself in greater honesty in business dealings.

The immigration officer, a returned soldier who had been born and brought up near X——, was full of praise for Americans, but reluctantly agreed that they were neither as honorable nor as honest as Canadians.

On the other hand, the town clerk, an Englishman of sixty-five, who definitely did not like Americans, said that they paid their taxes and carried out their obligations as well as Canadians do. The doctor, a Scotchman who had been practising in X—— for

thirty years, and who had been called into many consultations south of the line, also dissented strongly from the idea that Americans were slower than Canadians in meeting financial obligations.

The high-school principal, who had thought out his views very carefully, used the word "shrewd" in describing Americans, and explained that he meant shrewdness about money, and about getting the material things of life, a quality which he thought Americans carried almost to the point of overreaching. Their entire outlook was affected by a desire to get rich. He found that they valued the security of Canadian banks and that they imputed their unsatisfactory experience with their own banks to actual dishonesty.

(iii) *Moral Standards of Americans.*

The high-school principal went on to say that he missed in adult Americans some moral or spiritual qualities which he finds in Canadians, and as he can detect no difference between American and Canadian children in his school, he thinks the American educational system must be to blame. The difference in "seriousness, sense of responsibility, and appreciation of moral and spiritual values" in turn accounted for the want of respect for law in the United States, and for the fact that Americans in Canada did not condemn it, although they appeared to appreciate the greater security which Canada offered. It accounted also for the esteem in which Canadians were held as employees in the United States.

The minister was inclined to say that there was no difference between the Canadians and Americans whose homes he visited, but later spoke of a difference hard to put into words, "Americans are a little more off-hand about things religious—a little less serious. Their moral ideas are not so well defined and not so firmly held."

The bank manager and, still more strongly, the mayor, agreed in attributing a lower sense of moral responsibility to Americans; and so did the collector of customs, who was inclined to sympathize with his American colleague. One of the merchants chose sport, and particularly the yacht races, to illustrate the same point. The immigration officer thought companionate marriage the

leading symptom of moral deterioration. The woman "town leader" concurred in the general view of American morals and chose the lack of Sunday observance as a glaring example. The woman "farm leader" was more emphatic. She had personally seen an American farmer "grubbing" on Sunday, and had found that it took a great deal of silent moral pressure to bring American settlers in Canada to conform to the Canadian laws and customs which protect the Lord's Day from desecration. One of the farmers made a sharp distinction between "the really fine Americans" and the "others." The latter he thought cheap and crude to a degree which Canadians never reached, and he compared them very unfavorably with Ukrainian settlers in respect to refinement, moral standards and fidelity to their church. He himself was one of the most successful farmers of the district and one of the most thoughtful of the men interviewed. A railway workman of some sixty years of age expressed much the same opinion in different words, "They are a quicker built people and can turn about faster. An American will switch out more cars in an hour than a Canadian. Maybe he won't be so careful otherwise, but they certainly can turn about quicker." This phrase covered everything, physical, intellectual, and moral, from the respect of Masons for their obligations to the manœuvres by which the yacht race was won. Subject to this difference, Canadians and Americans were alike.

The doctor denied that there was any moral difference between Canadians and Americans. The freight train conductor thought that there was some fundamental difference, but he could not put it into words and would not criticize what he could not understand.

(iv) *Social Relations with Americans.*

Socially, Americans are popular in X——. The bank manager thought highly of them as individuals and spoke with grudging admiration (though not with sympathy) of their readiness to take a chance. Even the mayor liked Americans as companions. They contributed to the gaiety of the town, though they gave little actual public service. The minister thought them likeable people, "Taken individually they are good friends and good companions." The merchant gets on well with them both at home and in the

United States. The immigration official drew no distinction between his Canadian and American friends, "They are just like ourselves and have merged in the community." But when asked to give a single example of this merging, he was disconcerted to find that he could think of none.

The woman "town leader" spoke of cordial relations but pointed out that these depended on how much there was in common, "I do feel that our roots go deeper in our country than theirs, and that we also feel that we have much more background, and know more. Perhaps if we lived in the East and had eastern or southern Americans to associate with, we would feel on a more level footing culturally. In the early days we were fortunate in having among us Americans of a high cultural and intellectual standard." The woman "farm leader" had nothing but praise for Americans as friends and neighbors. Free from "British reserve," they do not hesitate to volunteer help and sympathy. "Perhaps we Canadians are too stand-offish and formal, yet we do miss in many Americans the reserve and quietness of speech which have been taught us from our childhood."

The farmer found his distinction of "fine" and "other" Americans particularly useful in discussing social relations. His friends belong to the former category. The others are "just awful." Asked if he would like to see twenty settlers brought in from the United States, he hesitated and then expressed a preference for Central Europeans, for he was impressed with the thrift, the hard work and the cheeriness of Ukrainians, but another farmer preferred Americans so long as they were not so numerous as to dominate the town.

The town clerk and the customs collector used almost identical language in accusing American officials of thinking themselves the Lord Almighty. The collector gave as example that, while he always informed dissatisfied travelers of their right to appeal from his decision, his American colleagues posed as ultimate arbiters.

The social activities which transcend the border have already been mentioned. At the joint meetings of the Canadian and American legions perfect good feeling exists. There is no talk of "We won the war" because many of the men had actually been in

France. In the joint ministerial association there are eighteen Americans and five Canadians; but of the eighteen Americans, sixteen had been Canadians once. Their Canadian colleague thinks they are not happily placed, but are "aliens in a foreign country." The high-school "graduate" was a member of a group of young Canadians and Americans who discussed world questions generally, and among other matters the quality of Canadian and American education. Apparently even the Americans agreed that the general impact of history as taught in their schools was to incline them to hate Great Britain.

There was, however, general agreement that Americans are not easily assimilated or Canadianized. The mayor thought they came to Canada to make money and go home. The school principal contrasted the contributions Canadians had made to the United States with the negligible contributions of American settlers to Canada. The immigration officer pointed out that Americans, unlike other settlers, frequently repatriated their dead. The woman "town leader" thought that Canadians who live in the United States become Americans, but that the reverse process is the exception rather than the rule. The farmer-veterinary took the same view, "There is something in their teaching which convinces them that the United States is the real country, and that idea remains even though they do not approve of much that goes on."

(v) *General Impression of the United States.*

Many of those who were interviewed derived their opinions about the United States from residence in that country and from general reading as well as from their local experience. The minister, for instance, had studied at the University of Chicago. He was tolerantly amused by the ignorance of things British and Canadian which cause so much irritation in Canada, but he viewed quite seriously the inability or unwillingness of Americans to understand Canada's world outlook and her relation to the British Empire.

The mayor thought Americans victims of their institutions and (though, of course, an elected official himself) was scornful of elected judges, prosecutors and sheriffs. This view, on a more thoughtful plane, the school principal shared. Nor could the farmer-veterinary, who had been a member of the provincial

government, understand how people at large could know who was fit to be a sheriff or a probate judge. The railway worker, with the example of imperial Germany in his mind, thought that too much power, too much nationalism, and too much pride were bound to lead to a terrible crash. He had been horrified to find that in Chicago the public was disposed to make a hero of Dillinger and equally horrified to find Americans disposed to assume Hauptmann's guilt without adequate proof. His formula stood him in good stead. "It all comes with turning about quickly."

(vi) *Conclusions.*

Before taking leave of X—— a few general observations can be made. Mrs. R. F. McWilliams, who made the survey, records her surprise at what she discovered:

> After much talk with many people in Winnipeg—talk which seemed to me not to show much discrimination, but to be characterized in unexpected quarters by prejudice, surprise at the careful discriminating statements made to me by men in X—— was my first reaction. I soon found that there must be in that village a lot of careful discussion going on among the leading men and women—especially the men—and that a goodly share of their interest is given to this problem of Canadian-American relations. . . . In everybody's mind there was a clear distinction between good and bad Americans. The former are wholly good and admirable but are hampered by certain features in the system of government of their country which they would certainly change if they realized how bad they were. But there is also an implication that these good Americans cannot or do not dominate their country. Of the bad Americans nothing too crushing can be said.

Perhaps it is putting a subconscious judgment into words to say that democracy as practised in the United States leaves the inferior people in controlling positions.

Subject to these reservations—and they are serious reservations —Americans are liked and intercourse is pleasant. There is, however, a latent distrust of American business integrity, confirmed by the performance of the American banks in 1932 and 1933. With regard to the United States as a whole, there is an underlying feeling of irritation, and attitudes range from real dislike and condemnation to an endeavor to mitigate dislike by explanation

and understanding. Above all, there is a firm conviction of Canadian superiority.

V. *A Study of the Town of Y——.*

(i) *General Survey.*

Y—— is an interior town situated on the Assiniboine River. Its population is between 6,000 and 7,000, but because of its dependence on the surrounding agricultural area it is completely rural in outlook.

The original pioneers of the district were old-country families who came out as early as 1853, but later colonization was from Ontario. There was no substantial immigration from the United States until the war brought abnormally high prices for wheat, and the forty or fifty families who came at this time have not remained. The present population is largely Anglo-Saxon with a few French half-breeds and some Ukrainian farmers.

Such direct contacts as have occurred with the United States have tended to excite distrust and dislike. American traders sold liquor to the Indians. The American policing of the frontier areas was held in little repute. In 1864 some 3,000 Sioux Indians took refuge in Canada and lived peaceably side by side with their hereditary enemies. Political refugees never give a country a good reputation, and when the Indians returned to the United States the impression remained that they had been badly treated there.

Today there is little direct contact with the United States, and opinions about that country are based on reading, on movies, on radio programs, and on hearsay. There is naturally a tendency to generalize confidently from a few personal experiences. These circumstances distinguish Y—— from towns like X—— and justify a separate study.

As in X——, the study was made by means of interviews and the opinions were grouped under a few general headings.

(ii) *Business Standards of Americans.*

The bank manager, who was interviewed, had a wide experience throughout western Canada. He contrasted Canadian and American investors and thought the latter quick to cut their losses and leave when hard times came, while Canadians stayed to see it through.

Americans, especially western Americans, had to be watched. A colonizer, employed by a group of insurance and trust companies to assist farmers already in the area and to settle others there, had also had wide experience throughout the West. He took it for granted that Americans were unreliable. They were speculative, anxious to get rich quickly and apt to treat their obligations lightly. An insurance man, with excellent standing in the community, was utterly convinced that business honesty is lower in the United States than in Canada. But a merchant dissented. The Americans who left when the hard times came had paid their debts before going away.

The first farmer to be interviewed drew the usual distinction between good and bad Americans, and believed the former to be rare. But while he accused Americans of following the "dollar ideal," he took pleasure in the idea that those who invested in the area in wartime had paid too much for the land which they had since abandoned. The second farmer was equally positive that American business standards were low. So was the third farmer, who cited instances of the victimization of farmers by high-pressure salesmen, a pest which he feared might spread to Canada.

The doctor frankly described himself as prejudiced. As far as business relations went, Americans were "no damned good." But this opinion was based mainly on one unfortunate experience.

The mayor alone of all those interviewed did not share the distrust of Americans in business. He was a young lawyer with no very decided opinions.

(iii) *Moral Standards of Americans.*

On the somewhat broader question of moral standards the same opinion reappeared. The banker euphemistically characterized Americans as "more broadminded (than Canadians) with regard to their own affairs." He meant that they took an indulgent view of their own sharp practices. The first farmer condemned American moral standards and singled out for attack their lack of respect for Sunday and their easy divorces. The second farmer thought that Americans subordinated every moral standard to the desire to make money, and in this sweeping judgment the colonizer concurred. The third farmer and his wife were definitely hostile to

Americans and were genuinely alarmed at the suggestion that twenty families might be settled in the neighborhood. Americans had destroyed their Sunday and would destroy the Canadian Sunday, too, if they were not watched. Divorce and crime were mentioned but definitely in second place. These people had brought up their children to follow standards of "good living" and wanted to continue a state of society in which this standard could be maintained.

Nor were the women more charitable in their judgments. A school trustee, the wife of a doctor, had discussed American education with teachers who had gone to the United States for their training. American education, she concluded, is too closely confined to making loyal Americans to succeed in making good Americans. The home and the church were more respected in Canada to a degree that had surprised her brothers and their American wives on their return for a visit from California. The minister's wife took the stand of "a mother fighting for her young" and strongly opposed American influences which she associated with disregard of Sunday and with divorces obtained at the will of the parties.

A woman "farm leader" put in a good word for American education as more educational and more practical than Canadian. But "our literature is more refined, our newspapers cleaner and more free from scandals; our periodicals have much higher and healthier standards than those published in the United States." Americans she found shrewd to the point of being tricky, but she praised their social qualities. They lacked "sincerity, reliability, and reverence for the sacred things of life."

A second woman "farm leader" had been a schoolteacher in districts of Saskatchewan and Alberta, where two-thirds of the people were from the United States.

> We heard so much of how wonderful the United States was, that we wondered sometimes just why they ever thought of leaving it. . . . Perhaps the teaching of geography and history over there had something to do with it, as I found that nineteen-twentieths of their knowledge of these two subjects was of the United States and the other twentieth of the rest of the world. I think we are broader in our teaching over here.

She praised the social charm of Americans, but quoted with approval her minister's remark that they were "so busy with worldly things that the heavenly things were forgotten."

A social worker of some experience who had received her professional training in Chicago reluctantly admitted a distinct prejudice against Americans. "We *should* not feel that way." But she had acted on her prejudice and refused a position in the United States to return to Canada to work for less money and with less opportunity. She thought that much of the feeling in Canada was prejudice pure and simple and, therefore, unworthy, but she could not altogether free herself from these views. Asked about her own professional experience, she said, "Honesty makes me say that I do not think Americans are quite as good citizens as Canadians. They do not meet their financial obligations as well." For professional training in the United States she had high praise.

So, for that matter, had the doctor, who classed American methods of laboratory research as the best in the world, though he thought the education of the rank and file in his profession too narrow.

The insurance man considered American education poor, as it conduces to mass thinking of low quality. Americans know too little about Canada. The first farmer agreed, but added that Americans knew too little about anything outside the United States. Hence their boastfulness.

(iv) *Social Relations—Americans as Farmers and as Citizens of Canada.*

American farmers are looked on with the suspicion which attaches to transient labor in any occupation. The bank manager thought they took a few crops and then went home. The colonizer thought they left when difficulties came and were not so dogged as Canadians. Those who did stay settled down well among the Canadian population. But they were not good farmers; they always wanted to do things in a big way and did not want to be told anything. Big farmers' projects in Manitoba, carried on with American capital, had done more harm than good, for the land had been "mined" and then abandoned in poor shape. The insurance man gave the same opinion. The first farmer explained

that the wartime settlers had bought too much land and left themselves short of working capital. No one could tell them anything. "Why don't you grow corn and raise hogs as we do in Iowa?" they would ask, but not for information. Asked if he would prefer American or Ukrainian labor, he at once chose the latter, but added that Americans seeking such employment would not be "good" Americans. The third farmer made the same point. Americans would not "stand the gaff" as Canadian farmers would. The woman "farm leader" said that Americans relied too much on expensive machinery, which was all right when prices were high but disastrous under present conditions.

From this general view of Americans as fair-weather birds it followed that they were not looked on as a wholly desirable element in the community. If they do stay, it is another matter, and their American origins are likely to be forgotten. One of the farmers emphasized the fact that children of Americans brought up in our schools made first-class citizens. The first woman "farm leader" found much to praise in American women as "home-makers" and thought they made the best of friends, neighbors and citizens. The highly prejudiced doctor had some praise for the women as citizens.

(v) *General Impressions of the United States.*

The minister, in the course of fifteen years in Manitoba and western Ontario, has had little direct contact with Americans. But American thought, particularly that of the *Christian Century* group surrounding Dr. Charles Morrison, has been one of his chief sources of inspiration. What he thinks of as less worthy elements in American life he prefers charitably to disregard. His wife, on the other hand, was, as we have seen, hostile to American influence in every way.

The school inspector, who had traveled in the United States, had high praise for American "social theory," for the expression of ideas and the formulation of idealistic projects, but found contemporary practice sadly disappointing. He acknowledged the debt of Canadian education to American ideas but thought that their influence was declining.

The banker's views were also colored by a professional outlook. He condemned Americans for borrowing against the future.

The first farmer had traveled in the United States. "Once you are a hundred miles south of the boundary, people are buying their supplies on Sunday, farmers are working in the fields, the theaters are all open. The last time I went to Minneapolis, I arrived about eight o'clock on Sunday evening. There were four times as many people coming out of the picture shows and theaters as out of the churches." But his wife, a Scotchwoman whom he had married when on war service, had just returned from Chicago, where she had met with friendly hospitality.

The school trustee has frequently visited her relatives in California. She regrets, but not intolerantly, the American Sunday, speaks highly of American friendliness and social charm, and with amusement of their sureness that their way of doing things is right.

The social worker had only the pleasantest recollection of her friends in Chicago, and while there she was not conscious of the general condition of crime which the press depicts. Her purse was snatched, but only twice. What had shocked her was that the police warned her that it was dangerous to run after the thief.

The first woman "farm leader" had frequently visited her brother in the United States and had met American soldiers in the course of her hospital work in England during the war. She described Americans as more sociable and friendly and less reserved than Canadians. "They would pep us up and we would sober them down." The second woman "farm leader" would also like to have the best of both worlds: American readiness to experiment and Canadian insistence on solid foundations.

(vi) *Conclusions.*

Y—— is a safe, sound, careful living, "good" community and as such is typical of Canadian communities in western Canada, which have not received any considerable immigration from French Canada, the United States or Central Europe. The opinions held, though based in some cases on prejudice and in others on generalizations from limited experience, are in the judgment of Mrs. R. F. McWilliams, who made the survey, strongly held and would probably determine action in the event of any issue arising which involved Canada's political relations to the United States. Besides the representative group which was interviewed, there is

probably a larger and more prejudiced group, and a larger group still which takes no account whatever of the United States. But in a crisis both these groups would probably follow their leaders and community action would be definitely anti-American. Mrs. McWilliams came to this conclusion rather to her own surprise and tells us that she now understands why the farmer voted "to his own disadvantage and, as we can see quite clearly now, to his own undoing" against the reciprocity agreement of 1911. "He would, I do not doubt, under the same circumstances, do exactly the same thing today." On the whole, in spite of somewhat conflicting evidence, the final conclusion is stated as follows:

I have been surprised to find how deep is the feeling of distrust of the Americans viewed as individuals and still more as a people. Surface dislike and prejudice I was quite prepared to find. I have heard it expressed over and over again in many parts of Canada, but this distrust of the reliability, of the honor and even of the common honesty of Americans seems to run deep and, therefore, is a real factor in influencing the attitude of these rural Canadians towards the United States. . . . The surprise which I felt in the earlier studies of rural life at the allegiance of people to what is called the "Canadian Sabbath," and their determination to preserve it as a factor in Canadian life, came to me again in this study. On the other hand, the prevalence of crime in the United States was stressed much less than in X——.

CHAPTER XIX

OPINIONS AND ATTITUDES IN BRITISH COLUMBIA

(By H. F. Angus.)

I. *Introduction.*

Opinions prevalent in British Columbia concerning the United States and Canadian-American relations, and the attitudes of British Columbians towards the United States, were studied through interviews with representative people, and through questionnaires submitted to small groups whose members had some one characteristic in common, such as their profession, or their age, or their national origin. As it became clear from the interviews that certain general opinions about the United States and about Americans were fairly widespread, it was possible to frame the questionnaires in a very precise way and to ask those who answered them whether or not they agreed with one of these "stereotyped opinions." The groups which were interrogated were of necessity small groups and, in order to find out as much as possible about the general opinion in the Province, each of those who answered the questionnaire was asked to say whether he thought that the individual opinion which he expressed was general throughout the Province, was merely a widely-spread opinion, or was unusual.[1]

This study in British Columbia was made quite independently of the somewhat similar investigations which were being made elsewhere in Canada, for one of the chief purposes was to decide whether or not opinions and attitudes in British Columbia closely resembled opinions and attitudes elsewhere. It is only in so far as such a resemblance can be established that we can speak of *Canadian* opinions and attitudes rather than of a collection of regional opinions; and we must be constantly on our guard against being misled by resemblances which are transitory in character, because

1. *General* means held by 66 per cent or more of the adult population, *widespread* means held by 33 per cent or more, *unusual* means held by less than 33 per cent.

they are due to the influx of population, particularly in the professional classes, from Eastern to Western Canada.

The information derived from interviews and questionnaires has been closely compared with the results of the investigation into the opinions and attitudes of teachers in British Columbia, which have been described (pp. 108–114), and with the information given by school children in British Columbia which has also been discussed in Chapter XVI. A general sketch of conditions in British Columbia has already been given (pp. 55–59) and need not be repeated here.

The conclusions which have been reached through the interviews and questionnaires can be arranged under a few general headings.

II. *The United States as a Standard of Comparison.*

In British Columbia, as throughout Canada, the United States is constantly used by all classes of the population as a standard of comparison for Canada. Conditions in the United States (a phrase which gives rise to frequent misunderstandings because it usually means conditions in that part of the United States which is best known to the speaker, or uppermost in his mind) are constantly cited as a standard by which conditions in British Columbia should be judged. No other country is regularly compared or contrasted with British Columbia. Indeed the only two areas which are mentioned in this way are "Eastern Canada" and the "Old Country." In each case the *tone* of reference is similar (but different from that used in making comparisons with the United States), for the reference is likely to be made by someone who is speaking of his country of origin, and who feels that he is performing a public service if he helps to preserve what similarity there is between conditions in British Columbia and those which exist (or formerly existed) in a politically related area. It is thus relatively rare to hear disparaging references to Eastern Canada or to the Old Country.

In the case of the United States it is quite different because the motives which lead to comparisons are different. A consideration of these motives will help us with our study of opinion. We can begin with the least common: dispassionate scientific or philoso-

phical curiosity. While traces of this motive were found in some of the interviews (1, 13, 21 and 22), it is uncommon, because British Columbians are not, as a people, fond of intellectual conversation and because comparisons are usually made by those who have axes to grind. It follows that comparisons are mainly directed to establishing some definite superiority or definite inferiority of Canada in relation to the United States. Indeed, from the standpoint of many people who think of themselves as practical, if differences exist between two reasonably similar communities, one community must be behaving more efficiently than the other to which it should therefore serve as a model (p. 113).

If we look at the other extreme we can note that it is rare to find comparisons made in a spirit of crude boastfulness or even of Pharisaism, while abject self-abasement is equally infrequent. It is true that comments on American procedure in criminal matters are not unlikely to take the line of self-congratulation because things are done differently in Canada, and that when scenes from the trial of Hauptmann were shown on the news-reel a wave of disgust was followed by a comfortable feeling that "we don't behave like that." If this is Pharisaism, the writer must plead guilty to it, for these were his feelings on seeing the news-reel. But when members of the legal profession were asked in the course of a questionnaire for their opinion of certain notorious abuses in American criminal administration, many of them were careful to add to their answers that they saw signs of the same sort of thing appearing in Canada. (Answer 3.) When comparisons unfavorable to the United States are made, their purpose is usually defensive, by way of showing that no change is desirable in Canada, since we are already better off than the United States: while if American conditions are praised, the purpose is usually aggressive and lies in urging some course of action on Canadians in order to obtain for Canada advantages which the United States is supposed to enjoy. These comparisons are often made from interested or "political" motives and constitute a form of propaganda. But in other cases they may be pathetically ingenuous.

It is hardly necessary to give examples of propaganda. Those who want good roads call attention to the lavish expenditures of the States of Washington, Oregon or California. Those who want

tariff protection attribute American wealth to fiscal ingenuity. The pathetic comparisons are more interesting. People attached to old-fashioned morality, to old-fashioned religion, to old-fashioned education, or to old-fashioned etiquette, make the United States their *bête noire*. That country epitomizes for them the worst tendencies of the rising generation and it is by the institutions of that country that these deplorable tendencies are to be explained. It must be admitted that plenty of material exists for such comparisons and that the press of the United States makes the material readily accessible. What we may call inertia plays an important part in the process by which a picture—no less serviceable because of its falsity—is created of a country well advanced on its way to hell. For the memory of each comparison remains after the occasion for the comparison has passed away, and the comparisons are thus cumulative in their effect. A few catch-words or phrases will indicate what is meant: companionate marriage; easy divorce; the continental Sunday; gangsters; kidnaping; racketeering; Hollywood; the third degree; lynching; bank failures (Interview 15 (A) and Answers Nos. 3, 4, 5, 6, 8, 12 and 14). In passing, we should notice that a more edifying, though perhaps equally indiscriminating, picture is likely to be formed of the Old Country, whose virtues are grossly exaggerated.[2] When knowledge is based on memories, a kindly forgetfulness conceals much that is disagreeable, but there is nothing kindly about the American press in its presentation of American news and the disagreeable is continually recalled to the attention of Canadian readers. Then, too, those who speak from personal experience of Great Britain are quite likely not to have kept in touch with conditions since the war and such changes as are noticed are classed as Americanisms.

The views which have just been considered are, no doubt, extreme and do not persist unmodified among men and women in active contact with modern life. Yet they have a relatively gentle counterpart among those who think that Americans are apt to resort hastily to extreme measures and to yield to social forces which a tougher-minded, or at any rate a firmer-minded, people

2. The same point was noted in the study of English-speaking Quebec. *See* Chapter XVII.

might resist (Interviews 25 and 26; Answers 7, 8, 10). To this mild condemnation also the facts lend color, unless one chooses to explain them away by a sympathetic account of the difficulties with which the United States has been confronted. Thus, American opinion, upon the whole, agrees that too many banks have failed; that the divorce rate *in some states* is excessive; that prohibition was not an unqualified success; that law-enforcement is open to criticism. It is hard, for instance, for Canadians to understand why, when a large strike is in progress in the United States, it seems to be taken for granted that lives will be lost. If these unpleasant truths are exaggerated, the reason is not so much the malice of Canadian observers as the outspoken publicity in the American press which is unwilling to renounce the news value of misconduct or depravity, or as the complimentary remarks of Americans in Canada, who are often quick to praise Canadian institutions without reflecting on the danger of flattering a credulous people. Then, too, Americans are likely to be judged by their worst performance because of the wide powers which individual States enjoy.

The view that British Columbian society is in some ways superior to American may be still more mildly formulated. It is thought of as quieter, slower in tempo and saner in quality (Interview No. 30).[3] A preference of this sort may appear purely subjective. It is rationalized by saying that British Columbian society is one in which it is easier to give depth and reality to social relationships, and in particular that afternoon tea and long evenings are conducive to friendships, while there is supposed to be an advantage in postponing the age at which the family life of children is replaced by social life.

Finally, there may be an attempt to generalize by seeking a rough and ready explanation of the differences which have been noted between Canadian and American tendencies. Americans are spoken of as a newer people, as childlike, as excitable, as prone to enthusiasm or subject to panic (Interviews Nos. 5 and 9; Answers 17 and 22). European and Asiatic visitors often express the same views quite spontaneously, perhaps because they feel that it is a

3. Similar views were found in English-speaking Quebec. *See* Chapter XVII.

polite and sensible compliment to pay, perhaps because they come to British Columbia jaded and dazed by a hurried peregrination through the United States, perhaps in all sober sincerity.

Yet a certain amount of discretion is forced upon these visitors. For, even in drawing distinctions between Canadians and Americans which are highly favorable to the former, an Englishman may give offense in Canada. This may be due to a subconscious feeling that anyone whose preferences run on these lines must logically prefer England to Canada, or a feeling that Canadians are really vulnerable to the same type of criticism as Americans and that it is an insincere courtesy which exempts them. There may also be a survival of colonialism in a subconscious feeling that an English visitor of distinction should be on his good behavior when in Canada and should therefore (as one does when on good behavior) exercise a censorship over his conversation and avoid remarks which may be expected to offend those whose relationships with Americans are very close.

In other circumstances there is a conviction of American superiority which, fortunately or unfortunately, has been weakened by the depression. Americans are (or were) credited with more initiative and enterprise in business, with getting things done, with intolerance of the obsolete, and with a readiness to disregard vested interests (Interviews 12 and 13; Answers 1 and 2). These views as to American superiority are more generalized and less specific than those which imply Canadian superiority. Their existence accounts for the curious fact that it is possible for the same people, in the course of answering a single questionnaire, to accord to the United States the highest praise (as the most progressive and most idealistic nation in the world) and to follow with charges so damning that they seem inconsistent with the presence of civilization in that country (the praise appears in Answers 1 and 2; the charges in Answers 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 9, 12 and 13).

III. *The United States as a Powerful Neighbor.*

People in British Columbia simply do not think of the United States as a powerful neighbor, capable, if angered, of using its strength for their destruction. No answer to the questionnaires

and no interview suggested the possibility of such a thing.[4] Frankness requires the further statement that if British Columbians think violence inconceivable they are not equally sceptical of the possibility of being overreached in bargaining. There exists a suspicion—analogous to the supposed American distrust of European diplomacy as unscrupulous and skillful—which interlocks with the contempt for American sportsmanship which will be described later. Thus, many reproach Great Britain for giving way on the question of the Alaska Boundary dispute (pp. 75–80) and are quite astonished by the suggestion that, if the alternative had been war, it was good for Canada to have the matter peaceably settled. They are quite sure that the alternative was not war. The feeling is widespread with regard to the United States that "if you sup with the devil you must use a long spoon." But no one expects the United States to be annoyed if this insulting precaution is adopted. Quite the contrary! Americans will be flattered, they think, for the probable response of Uncle Sam to the charge of overreaching in diplomacy would be a good-natured grin. This view of the United States may be hopelessly wrong, but so long as it is tenaciously held there is something quite unreal in pressing on British Columbians such a hypothetical question as, "If Japan attacks Alaska and the United States demands passage for troops over British Columbia, ought Canada to return the answer which Belgium gave to Germany and stand up to the consequences?" Except to the small minority who have had some legal training and have accustomed themselves to think of nations as equal before the law, the comparison seems absurd.

In the same way, while it may be admitted in rationalized debate, that, in certain circumstances, British Columbia might expect some sort of protection from the United States, these contingencies seem utterly remote and unreal. So they are, in practice, since they presuppose a Power willing to quarrel with the British Empire and the United States at the same time.

The only things of a contentious nature which seem at all likely to be discussed with the United States are boundary disputes,

4. With a possible exception of Interview No. 22 in which it was asserted that in the United States it was possible for popular fury to be suddenly excited against *any* people.

tariffs, export duties, immigration laws, canal tolls, rum-running, water-rights, damage by smelter smoke, fishing rights and the like. In these cases it is universally assumed that Canadians can, within the limits of recognized legal rights, be as provocative as they choose, without jeopardizing the peace.

These views may be completely mistaken. No doubt they would strike observers in any other country as absurd. It is quite possible that Americans consider them an impertinence. For the purpose of this survey they must be recorded in their utter simplicity, for their existence is one of the facts which combine to make it impossible to treat the relations of Canada and the United States as typical of international relations in general. With the exception of the teachers, who were concerned with the problems of internationalism and world peace (pp. 111–114), none of those who were interviewed showed any disposition to generalize by treating Canadian relations with the United States as an indication of what Canadian relations with other countries might be.

IV. *Attitudes Towards the United States.*

Attitudes are very complex things which may be the result of judgments or opinions, or may be their cause. The self-analysis which is necessary if they are to be adequately described in a short interview is exceedingly difficult. Most people are tempted to make their description of what their attitude is conform to their idea of what it ought to be, or if they are sophisticated, to their idea of the attitude which it is expedient to profess. This tendency is even more pronounced in the case of clubs and associations than in the case of individuals. But it was not easy to find individuals who would say that their attitude towards the United States was other than friendly, although a fair number of those interviewed said that they thought other attitudes widely held in British Columbia. (Answer 17.) In part, perhaps, the wish was father to the thought and many who would not admit that they themselves disliked the United States hoped that their fellow citizens did; much as many agnostics like to feel that their women folk are god-fearing, and as many who profess enlightened opinions entertain a sneaking hope that the society in which they live is still protected by a mass of healthy prejudice.

In a few cases men who have been interviewed have said frankly that some sort of jealousy or envy lay at the bottom of their attitude towards the United States. (Interviews 2, 8 and 26; Answer 17 (b).) How, one may ask, can such sentiments as these co-exist with the very decided beliefs in Canadian superiority which the questionnaires disclosed? (Answers 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 9, 12 and 13.) The answer probably is that it is precisely a belief in superiority of deserts which converts a suspicion of inferiority of fortune into jealousy or envy. If British Columbians ask themselves why some of the States of the United States are richer, more populous, lands of greater opportunity than their own Province, they do not always find the answer in material causes such as climate, accessibility or availability of capital. Propaganda may have taught them that British Columbia is superior in these respects. They, therefore, feel that they ought to have made more rapid progress but for some sinister reason. This dissatisfaction may take a political turn and lead to criticism of imperial relations or to a demand for secession from the Canadian Confederation. It can readily be capitalized in support of a tariff policy. That it exists is beyond doubt. It is analogous to something which is often laughed at in the West: the jealousy of one town for another which has developed more rapidly, because of its situation, in spite of the supposedly superior enterprise of the envious town. Closely allied with this cause of jealousy is resentment of the American control of industries in British Columbia which has resulted from the investment of American capital (Interview 2.)

There are other elements in the attitudes of British Columbians towards the United States. It is very common for people to say, "We like the Americans we know, but we dislike Americans in the mass."[5] (Interview 5.) It is too simple an explanation of this sentiment to say that in choosing one's friends one is naturally influenced by congenial qualities and avoids the gangsters, the poor whites and the hangers-on of Hollywood. For those who say that they like Americans mean that the individual psychology of Americans is hardly foreign and upon the whole rather likeable, while the social psychology of the United States is something

5. This phrase turns out to be a *leit-motif* in this book!

strange, unintelligible and disagreeable. It is the *ethos* of the American people which is disliked. This topic will be discussed in greater detail when we come to the occasions on which the friendly attitude of British Columbians is likely to be shaken.

Closely related to this dislike of Americans in the mass is the tendency, to which frequent allusion has been made, to regard Americans as bad sportsmen. This is apparently a tradition, and is widely held although, like most traditions, it does not stand the test of personal experience. Thus, university students, who had frequent contacts with Americans of their own age, were less willing than other groups to condemn American sportsmanship, although they concurred in the belief that such a condemnation was general in British Columbia. (Answer 8.) Usually the exceptions to the supposed rule that Americans are bad sportsmen are brought under the formula "those Americans whom I know personally" as contrasted with Americans in the mass. On the other hand, all manner of incidents arising in personal experience are explained by relating them to the belief in the unfairness of Americans in sport. Among such incidents is the invasion by the press, or the theater of the United States, of the privacy to which Canadians think that even a public man is entitled in his private life.

One of the chief irritants to British Columbians is the fact that many Americans whom they meet are extremely ignorant of Canada. (Interview No. 3.) To some extent this is a childish complaint to make, for the United States is important to Canadians in a way in which Canada is not important to Americans, and Canadians have means of acquiring knowledge of the United States through periodicals, motion pictures and radio programs which have no counterpart for Americans in respect to Canada. Canadians are, therefore, unreasonably exacting if, in such a matter as mutual knowledge, they expect to meet their gigantic neighbor on an equal footing. But they are often exacting or quick to resent ignorance of Canadian conditions. Indeed, the same sort of resentment is provoked by English ignorance of Canadian conditions, without any allowance being made for the fact that if citizens of the other Dominions made equal demands, an unbearable burden would be imposed on English education.

However, it is possible that, apart altogether from their tendency to super-sensitiveness, Canadians have some little cause for complaint. Canadian post-offices, for instance, have to be adorned with notices warning Americans that letters posted in Canada must be prepaid with Canadian stamps. It has been the writer's experience to be asked by an American naval officer of rank to explain how he had arrived in a place which everyone called British Columbia when he thought he was going to Canada, and it required a moment's reflection to realize that knowledge of the federal structure of Canadian polity had nothing to do with navigation, and that it was reassuring if the fighting services of the United States were not required to be specially well informed about Canada. Canadian graduate students in Seattle have been asked by their American colleagues if Queen Victoria is still sovereign of Canada, and in graduate courses they have been exhorted to eliminate anglicisms from their speech. Nor is it unusual for Canadians to be asked how much tribute they pay to Great Britain. The simplest comment on all this seems to be that incidents which should excite pure laughter are a little irritating because of special sensitiveness, which it has become fashionable to explain as an inferiority complex.

Another quite unreasonable cause of annoyance has been the discounting of the Canadian dollar. It has undoubtedly been a real pleasure to many that in the course of 1934 the price of gold has been lower in Canada than in the United States. (Interview 6.) Once more the petty annoyance indicates sensitiveness.

It is a natural corollary to this that criticism of American boastfulness is persistent. (Interviews 1, 4 and 6.) Like bad sportsmanship, boastfulness has become a legend. We are not concerned with the truth of the accusation, but we are concerned with one of its results. It produces a temper in Canada which is not exactly hostile, but which finds a malicious pleasure if the United States, or Americans, have to undergo some minor humiliation. In any serious misfortune there would be sincere sympathy from the same people who might delight in some small mishap. How is one to analyze this temper? It has a touch of envy about it, but it also contains something of the sporting instinct which resents boastfulness and likes to see the apparently weaker win. It is frequently

aroused by unfair, or ungenerous or callous criticisms of Great Britain in the American press. It often expresses itself in remarks which appear ill-natured and, indeed, even unsportsmanlike.

There is evidence that the treatment of Americans socially leaves something to be desired. Certainly Americans can be found in British Columbia who feel that sentiment towards the United States is colored by an element of hostility which they do not understand, and that they have been exposed to many minor annoyances which would have had no counterpart in the case of Canadians in the United States. (Interviews 11, 12 and 13.) It seems common for them to overhear the whisper, "We must not talk about Americans because so-and-so is an American." So-and-so naturally wonders what he might have heard had he been able to pass as a Canadian, and feels more aggrieved than he would have been by a few sneers about the American press or American sportsmanship. For the censored remarks are probably not very dreadful, and the censorship itself is likely to be inspired by that foolish form of self-flattery which delights in crediting oneself with those rare but admirable qualities, tact and caution.

If we remember that a feeling of sensitiveness towards the United States always exists, although at times it is latent, we can easily understand the resentment which is caused by what are sometimes called frontier incidents. People like to talk of their travels, and it is difficult to describe conversationally the disagreeable experiences which one may have undergone at the hands of officials of another country without appearing to find fault with its people or its institutions. Nor can people be expected to refrain from making their conversation entertaining by exaggeration. Americans who are not particularly annoyed when Tagore, who after all is racially ineligible for citizenship in the United States, says that he will never set foot in that country again because of his treatment by the immigration authorities, can easily feel insulted if a Canadian business man actually does put himself to some inconvenience to avoid passing through the country. Incidents in themselves trivial and almost ludicrous may, and do, lead to touchiness or sensitiveness on both sides which survives after the incidents are forgotten, and affects the response which is aroused by the recurrence of the same sort of incident. There is a general

belief that the behavior of customs officials, immigration officers, and police is far less courteous in the United States than in British Columbia, though there is no suggestion that there is any discrimination against Canadians. Indeed, it is often the treatment of Americans by their own officials that excites contemptuous comment.

As has already been pointed out, clubs, associations and public bodies generally are much more careful than individuals of the sentiments which they express, and are bound to reject as unworthy the sentiments which have been described in the last three paragraphs. On the whole, therefore, they must be counted among the influences which improve attitudes towards the United States by subjecting them to rational scrutiny and censorship. But clubs may do more than this. They are rarely insensible to the distinction conferred by the term "international" or to the pleasure to be derived from playing in turn the parts of host and guest. They are thus apt to take a leading part in organizing intercourse of the friendliest character with Americans who belong to similar bodies. (Interview 29.)

V. *Questions on Which Opinions and Attitudes Center.*

In a questionnaire, which was answered by a small group of representative business men, questions which might be the occasion of sentiments that affected adversely the general trend of friendly feeling towards the United States were grouped under three headings: Public or international disputes, social questions and business rivalry. In the first case seven out of twelve, in the second case eight, in the third case three, thought that their feelings became hostile. (Answer 17 (c).) At first sight it may seem surprising that differences in social arrangements (it was made clear that this term was to include such matters as marriage and divorce, Sunday observance, crime, liquor control, etc.), which to any observer from Europe, Asia or Africa must appear slight in degree, and slighter in significance, should be at least equal as a source of ill-feeling to any international controversies. But we have already seen that the United States, as a powerful neighbor, does not excite fear, though she may excite indignation (pp. 434–436). We have also seen that the social differences do excite distaste (pp. 430–434).

It is important to add that they also excite fear—fear of peaceful penetration, of inevitable yielding to American influences, of manifest destiny. This fear is comic in some cases because it arises from details which do not seriously matter. In some cases it is intelligible enough, though a little philosophy might bring consolation; in other cases it is even defensible. A neighboring country whose law enforcement is bad, or whose political behavior is held to be suffering from a taint of ballyhoo, is objectionable in the sense in which a neighbor, whose garden is full of noxious weeds, is objectionable, and some day an enlightened international comity may give protection against such a menace. But today both the government of the United States and its people would consider it an impertinence if Canada were to make a protest on these matters either directly or through some international conference, though a similar protest about a fire hazard would excite neither indignation nor surprise.

The international issues are easier to interpret as a source of ill-feeling because we are apt to think that they have their counterpart all over the world. But we must not forget that this analogy may be highly misleading, because international questions at issue between Canada and the United States do not excite fear of physical violence. The questions which are most significant can be rapidly enumerated. The sore spot for British Columbia is not now either the conduct of the War of 1812 or the Fenian raids, but the handling by Mr. Theodore Roosevelt of the Alaska Boundary dispute. (*See* pp. 75–80.) We must, of course, remember that the dispute led to quite as much indignation against Great Britain as against the United States, probably, as has already been suggested, because Great Britain behaved as if she did not share the Canadian belief that violence would not be used by the United States under any circumstances. The incident was thus an active cause of Canadian insistence on autonomy.

Tariffs and other barriers to trade may occasion great loss to individuals and to nations. They may be resented by the sufferers and may lead to a wish to retaliate. They may be used with powerful effect by interested propaganda. (*See* pp. 324–328.) But the erection of tariff barriers is never considered a wrongful act in itself, and no one can complain seriously of others exercising the

same liberty which he claims for himself. None of those interviewed complained of tariffs.

The behavior of Americans in the Great War has been the cause of much ill-feeling. In the first instance, Canadians believed, rightly or wrongly, that they were disinterestedly (or at least from praiseworthy motives) fighting for a cause which was morally right. It was inevitable that there should be some annoyance with a neighbor who seemed disposed (perhaps for reasons of internal peace) to apportion the blame equally between the combatants. A difficulty of a different order arose with the entry of America into the war. It seemed that logically the United States was either fighting for purely interested motives, in comparison with Canadian motives which had been disinterested, or was admitting that the issues had been misjudged two years earlier. A third source of annoyance was the reputed tendency of Americans to boast of their performance in the war. A fourth irritation was the abandonment by the United States of the League of Nations after playing an important part in enticing other nations, and Canada among them, into that organization. The fact that Canadians were almost as disposed as Americans were to challenge one or two of the articles of the Covenant did not make them conscious of a bond of sympathy. Quite the contrary! Canadians thought that if they had resigned themselves to accepting clauses which they disliked for the sake of securing international unanimity, the United States had no valid reason for being more fastidious. Then came the War Debts controversy in which Canada was a spectator rather than a participant, but in which sympathies in British Columbia were overwhelmingly on the British side, perhaps in part because of the conviction (whether it be statistically true or not) that, all in all, Canada had made proportionately as great a sacrifice in the war as the United States, even supposing that the latter did not recover a dollar of her loans. Finally, there was a suspicion that the policies of the United States had left that country better off financially than Canadian policies had left Canada. This is the old story of jealousy arising from an apparent disparity between fortune and deserts. Neutrality had been profitable for the United States; membership in the League involved burdens for Canada. Even moral enthusiasm for Canada's war record was not unimpaired,

for a profound distaste for war had swept over that country as well as over the British Empire and the United States.

These considerations formed a curious mixture. All these reproaches could not be leveled against the United States by the same person at the same time. They blended, however, in the general feeling, which has been alluded to before, that the collective behavior of the United States is strange and in some ways reprehensible. "We like the Americans we know, but we do not like Americans in the mass!" But even at their strongest, the emotions aroused by the war and its aftermath were barely as strong as those which are associated with the fear of being swept along by a tide of "Americanism."

The war-time emotions are not strong now. The depression has produced an opposite current of feeling. There is general sympathy for the United States. Envy and jealousy have been assuaged and have almost disappeared, for the opinion (whether it be true or false) is widely held that Canada has suffered less than the United States. But sympathy for the United States and wishes for a speedy recovery are not completely dissociated from selfish considerations, for many British Columbian industries cannot expect to become prosperous again unless their market in the United States revives.

It seems to follow that the future may bring totally new developments, if, for instance, the New Deal is a success in satisfying a considerable proportion of the American people, or if the United States becomes completely autarchic, or if a war breaks out anywhere in which American or Canadian sympathies are strongly concerned. This point may look more obvious than it really is. It amounts to saying that there is no dominant trend of opinion, and no dominant attitude which, no matter what may happen in the United States or elsewhere, will determine Canadian relations with that country.

VI. *The Application of Opinions and Attitudes to Canadian-American Relations.*

Many of the opinions which have been described as widely held, or even as generally held, in British Columbia are probably ill-founded; many betray quaint prejudices; and many are utterly

trivial. It is quite possible to doubt whether they can have any bearing on the question of Canadian-American relations. It is equally possible to be sceptical whether the attitudes which have been described have any appreciable significance. If these doubts are justified our inquiry will have given a purely negative result. But there seems to be an obvious answer to the doubters. The opinions and attitudes which have been examined in detail are perhaps unimportant when taken singly and subjected to analysis or even to ridicule, but collectively they combine to form a fabric of opinions and attitudes which is of importance as being the background against which policies are likely to be seen.

Thus there is a general belief that Canadians differ in important respects from Americans. This general belief can be held by people who are not in agreement with one another as to the particular differences which they detect. Then there is a belief—or much more than a belief, a fear—that too intimate relations with the United States may lead to the loss of some things to which Canadians attach value. This fear of a sort of contamination can be widespread, even though there is no general agreement as to the precise nature of the contamination which is to be feared. There is also a belief—or something more than a belief, a pride, an ambition or a faith—in Canadian national distinctiveness, which leads to an insistence on individuality. In examining the opinions of teachers in British Columbia, we have seen that some such sentiment can survive even among people who deny the desirability of stressing in any way the differences between Canadians and other peoples, since this process is thought of as conducive to excessive nationalism. (*See* pp. 112–113.) Then we have seen that there exists a real admiration for the United States which is both frankly expressed, and evidenced by the existence of jealousy and envy. There is an almost universal profession of friendliness whose sincerity is beyond suspicion.

These beliefs and these attitudes are important in conditioning (of course, only in so far as British Columbian opinion is influential in Canada, or as opinion elsewhere resembles opinion in British Columbia) Canadian policy in matters which affect Canadian relations with the United States, whether the question is one of tariffs or of the rating to be given to American educational qualifica-

tions by doctors or lawyers. Side by side with a certain admiration for the United States, there exists some distrust of the United States, a good deal of envy and jealousy of the United States, and a fear of Americanization. The aim of this study has been to supply the information which we need in order to judge of the nature and strength of these feelings in British Columbia.

Not only have these feelings a direct bearing on Canadian-American relations; they are also important as forming the factors with which interested opinion must reckon. Those whose advantage lies in the adoption of some type of policy, whether on a large on a small scale, can appeal to any one or more of the feelings which we have described. There is probably in British Columbia no group which is definitely pro-American. But American conditions, or American policies, may be praised by those who wish British Columbia to imitate the policies which are supposed to have brought them about, e.g., high tariffs or dollar devaluation. On the other hand, it is easy to make an attack on the spread of American periodicals, or American motion pictures, with Americanization as the bugbear. Or an anti-American tariff can be sought with the help of anti-American propaganda. The feelings which are aroused in such campaigns are not the mere creatures of interested propaganda. The propaganda has been effective in the past so far as there was a basis for it to work on; and in the future, too, its success will depend on the willingness of the public to receive it. Then, too, the best propagandists are sincere propagandists and the mere existence of a current of reputable opinion is a great help to both the sane and the psychopathic, who must, in one way or another, acquire the sincerity of conviction which gives them their power over others.

VII. *Appendix—Results of a Questionnaire Used in this Investigation.*

One of the questionnaires used in this study consisted of a number of brief statements of what were supposed to be popular beliefs concerning the United States. Each person questioned was asked to say of each statement whether he accepted it as true, was doubtful about it, or believed it to be untrue. He was then asked to say whether he thought that the statement was generally

believed in British Columbia, was widely held but not general, or was an unusual opinion. It was explained that an opinion was *general* if it was entertained by 66 per cent or more of the adult population, *widely held* if 33 per cent or more believed it, and *unusual* if less than 33 per cent did so. The following table shows in summary form the answers which were given to these inquiries in the case of the first ten questions on the questionnaire. The groups examined were not equal in size. One consisted of those present at a meeting of the Vancouver Ministerial Association, another of twelve business men, another of university students in a course on international affairs, another of those who attended a meeting of the Vancouver Bar Association. It will be seen that there are some questions which were not asked of all groups and that, within each group, there were some who did not answer every question.

A few comments can be made on these answers. The first question shows that a highly favorable opinion of the progressiveness of the United States is very widely held in British Columbia. But it is remarkable that the members of each group were less convinced in this matter than they supposed the general public to be. The second question shows that each group is highly sceptical of the idealism of the United States, though each group is ready to concede that a belief in this idealism may be fairly widely held. In every group fewer thought the opinion unusual than thought it false.

Opinion was all but unanimous that law is badly administered in the United States or, as the statement was worded for the Bar Association, that law and order are not so well maintained in the United States as in Canada. There was equally general condemnation of the particular abuses mentioned in the fourth question. There was also general condemnation of elected judges, but it is worthy of note that while each group expressed this opinion by an overwhelming majority, no group was prepared to say with equal assurance that the opinion was general in British Columbia. The suggestion is that educated people are not sure that the mass of the population is in agreement with them on this point.

The sixth question dealt with prohibition. The statement submitted to the various groups was purposely couched in extreme language and the measure of assent which it obtained from students and business men was a surprise to the investigator. The Ministerial

Association was alone in not rating the evils of prohibition as highly as did the statement. But even in this case more than half of those questioned reserved judgment. Ministers are, of course, apt to be recipients of prohibitionist propaganda and are in many sects likely to be themselves prohibitionists. It is also possible that they are more inclined than laymen to think well of their neighbors.

The seventh question contained a statement designed to be plausible but unusual. To the Bar Association it was submitted in a simplified form with the second sentence omitted. It is significant that relatively few dismissed the statement out of hand as palpably false, while nearly as many as concurred in it themselves thought it a general opinion in British Columbia. Fewer thought it unusual than thought it false. If the answers hardly prove that this opinion is widely held, they at least suggest that an attitude distinctly critical of the United States in international affairs is widely held in British Columbia.

In the eighth question, which concerns American sportsmanship, the number of those who are doubtful is relatively small. It is among the students, who have first-hand contact with Americans in sport, that there is most dissent from the proposition that Americans value success too much, while it is in the Ministerial Association that American sportsmanship is least highly regarded. It is noteworthy that the students are almost as strongly convinced as other groups that the public at large regards Americans as bad sportsmen. But in this matter also it is the ministers who are the most sweeping in their judgment.

The ninth question, like the seventh, contained a statement which was plausible but novel. The number who rejected it was unexpectedly small. There really does seem to be a widespread view that American crowds are noisier and more excitable than Canadian. This view is apt to be explained by saying that the American population is less homogeneous than the Canadian and contains a lower proportion of the supposedly phlegmatic British stock than the population of English-speaking Canada. It was interesting that a small group of leading members of the Native Sons of Canada were of one mind in denying the suggestion that Americans are excitable, though they recognized that this view was widely held.

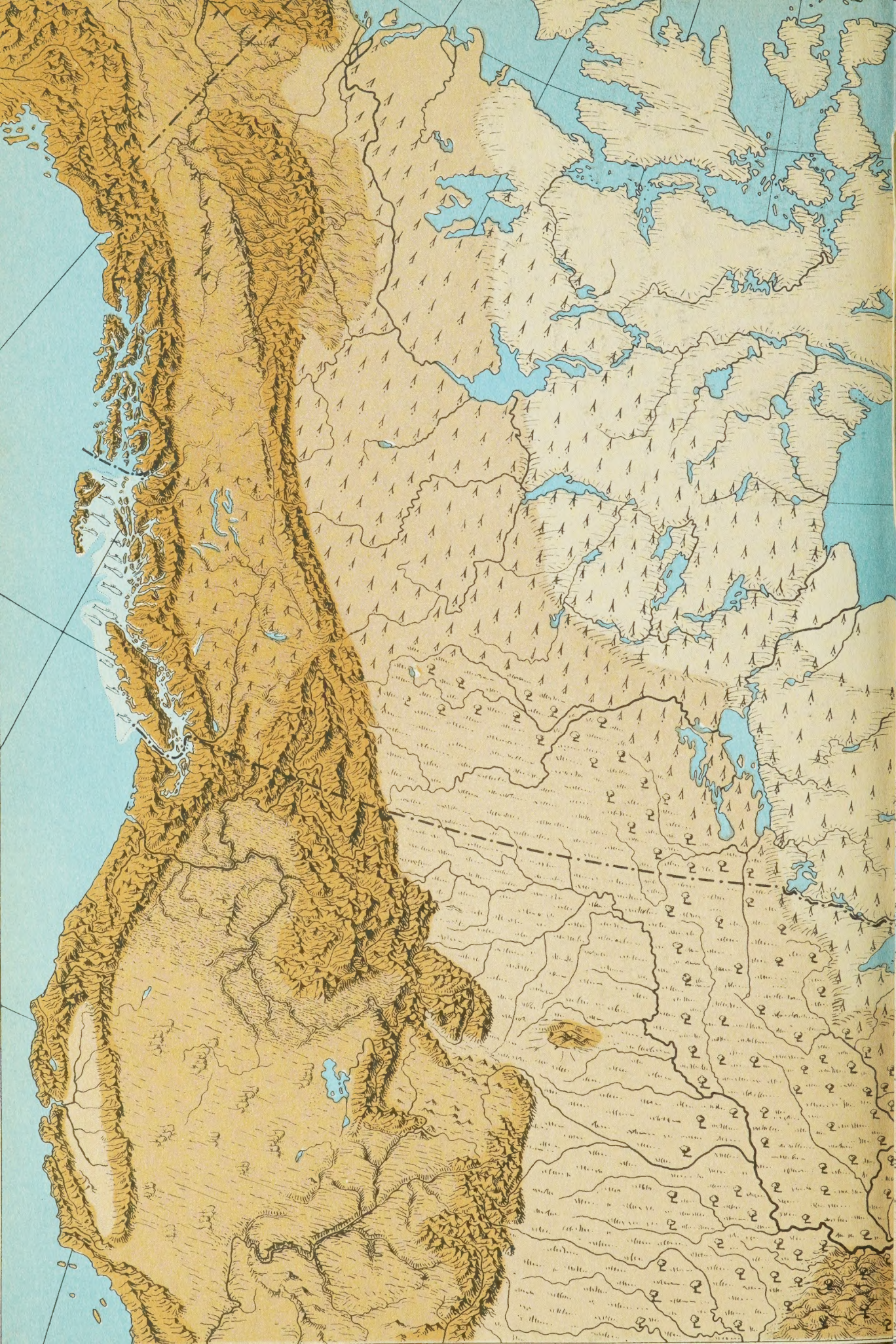
The tenth question presented a variant of the charge of flag-

waving. It is significant that nearly half of those questioned should accept it, and the figures indicate that the public at large are probably ready to believe the statement contained in the questionnaire. The largest measure of dissent comes from the students. It is just possible that those ministers who thought that the belief was generally held, though not by them, were thinking of the business men, and that those business men who declared that they held this belief but were doubtful whether the great majority of the public did, were thinking of the ministers. Another innocent conjecture is permissible. Canadians cannot very well be flag-wavers because they have no distinctive flag of their own. But perhaps Americans think of them as anthem singers, for, as we have seen, they have two anthems and sing both.

(*a*) Ministerial Association. (*b*) University Class in International Affairs. (*c*) A small group of Business Men. (*d*) Bar Association.

Question	*Group*
1. "The United States contains the most resourceful, energetic and progressive community in the world."	(*a*) (*b*) (*c*)
2. "The United States contains the most idealistic of the great peoples of the world."	(*a*) (*b*) (*c*)
3. "Law is badly administered in the United States."	(*a*) (*b*)
"Law and order are not so well maintained in the United States as in Canada."—Special wording for Bar Association.)	(*c*) (*d*)
4. "Such abuses as the Third Degree, Lynching and Racketeering are commoner in the United States than in other civilized countries."	(*a*) (*b*) (*c*) (*d*)
5. "Elected Judges constitute a great impediment to efficient administration of the laws of the United States."	(*a*) (*b*) (*c*) (*d*)
6. "Prohibition has encouraged pernicious drinking and drug addiction to an extent which is a menace to the nation."	(*a*) (*b*) (*c*)
7. "Americans will not coöperate with other people unless they can have the place of leadership. Other peoples have to play up to this characteristic if they wish to get on with Americans."	(*a*) (*b*) (*c*) (*d*)
8. "Americans are so fond of winning that they spoil most games by an intensive study of the rules, or by the introduction of so much science that the play element is destroyed."	(*a*) (*b*) (*c*) (*d*)
9. "American communities are subject to hysteria in a crisis."	(*a*) (*b*) (*c*)
10. "American Schools teach patriotism by ludicrous appeals to vanity."	(*a*) (*b*) (*c*)

	Individual Opinions			*Opinions as to views prevalent in B.C.*		
Nos. in Group	*True*	*Doubtful*	*False*	*General*	*Widely Held*	*Unusual*
25	5	16	4	9	15	1
31	16	10	5	8	18	5
12	6	5	1	5	5	1
24	0	15	8	3	14	7
30	4	8	18	5	11	14
12	1	6	5	5	5	1
25	24	1	0	24	1	0
31	27	3	1	23	8	0
12	12	0	0	10	2	0
59	55	4	0	53	6	0
25	20	5	0	25	0	0
30	26	4	0	25	5	0
12	10	2	0	10	2	0
61	58	3	0	53	6	0
26	21	4	0	15	9	2
28	22	5	1	11	15	1
12	11	0	1	7	3	1
61	54	6	1	44	16	0
25	1	16	6	9	15	1
31	17	11	3	10	20	1
12	7	4	1	8	4	0
26	10	12	4	13	11	2
31	9	14	8	7	20	4
12	5	5	2	2	6	2
58	25	26	7	26	22	6
21	16	5	0	15	6	0
31	17	4	10	11	16	4
12	8	2	2	7	2	1
59	40	13	6	33	20	2
24	12	10	2	8	11	5
30	17	6	7	14	10	6
12	7	2	3	4	5	1
25	11	14	0	15	8	2
29	11	13	5	10	14	5
12	7	3	2	3	5	3



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